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THE

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE

OF

THE ANCIENT GREEKS.

BY

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PREFACE.

Among the works on the subject of Grecian Antiquities which have been hitherto published in English for the use of younger readers, it would be difficult to find any so well fitted for its purpose, as to make a new attempt unnecessary.

The German books from which the author of this volume has taken a large portion of his facts and observations, contain, of course, much fuller and more complete information than it was practicable to compress within the narrow limits to which he had confined himself; but they are also too voluminous either to attract, or materially to assist, beginners in Greek literature.

Some work appeared to be wanting, which, without being unnecessarily diffuse, should give a notion of the discoveries of modern scholars, and particularly of German scholars: and, at the same time, it seemed very desirable that the whole should be so put together, as to furnish something more interesting than a mere book of reference.

The translator hopes that this compilation will be found to effect the objects proposed, better than any which has yet been submitted to English readers.

A few omissions have been made, and a few not very important alterations; and some short notes and references have been supplied. More of the latter would have been given, had it been possible to do so, without adding too much to the size of the volume.

As some abruptness may be remarked in the beginnings and endings of chapters, it may be proper to add, that no division of the text exists in the original.

June, 1836.

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GREEK ANTIQUITIES,

&c.

Chapter I.

Geographical and Physical Outline of Greece, and its Productions.

Origin and Extension of the names Hellas, Græcia, and Achaia—Extent and Boundaries of the country known under these names—Physical Geography—Mountains, Valleys, Rivers, Lakes, Seas, Harbours—Influence of the Sea on National Character—Climate peculiarly favourable to vegetable and animal life and perfection—Mineral productions—Metals—Marbles of Pentelicos and Paros—Salt—Vegetable productions—Cerealia—Antiquity and Sacred Character of Barley—Profusion and beauty of Flowers—Trees—Dodonean Oaks—Fruits—The Vine—Mode of making Wine in Greece—The Olive—Medicinal Plants—Animals—Traditions of the Lion—the Wolf—Lycanthropy—The Molossian Hound, and Spartan Greyhound—Origin and high estimation of the Horse—Sacred Character of the Ox in primitive times—Birds—Song of Rhodian Children in honour of the Swallow—The Cicada kept in cages by Greek Ladies—Fishes—The Greeks bad Fishermen—Pearls first mentioned by Anacreon—Sacred Eels—Serpents esteemed prophetic—Poisons—Antidotes.

The country to which our attention is directed, as the native land of the Hellenes, had originally no common name, and in different ages very different limits have been assigned to it.

Originally, Hellas denoted only a small part of Phthia, a district of Thessaly; afterwards the whole of northern Greece was called Hellas, in contradistinction to the Peloponnesus, which a former age had known under the name of Argos; lastly, the whole

region, from Macedonia to the Mediterranean (or even Macedonia inclusive), — consequently its two great divisions, the mainland and the peninsula,—was comprehended under the name Hellas, in which last extension it is used by Strabo.

From a single tribe, natives of the mountains of Epirus, the Γραικοὶ, the Romans and Alexandrians called the country Græcia, a name with which they were rendered familiar by the settlement of a colony of that tribe on the shores of Italy. The modern use of the name Greece is derived from the Romans, who applied it to all the countries where the Greeks had planted cities; as Magna Græcia in lower Italy, and Græcia Asiatica in lesser Asia.

From the time of the conquest of Corinth by Mummius, the whole country, then transformed into a Roman province, was called, in Roman official language, and often in common parlance, Achaia.

If we adhere to the boundaries laid down by Strabo,—viz., the sea to the east, west, and south, and the range of mountains to the north,—it will give an extent of about 29,500 square miles (including Epirus); a superficies rather exceeding that of the kingdom of Portugal.

Mountains.

The lofty mountains which are the primitive formation, or ribs of the land, appear to have been rent by some convulsion from the south-east, which gave to the country its present form and aspect. Under the 42° of latitude and the 19° of longitude, a gigantic arm branches off from that vast zone of mountains which divides Europe into Northern and Southern, and, after some few deviations from its main direction, ends in the lesser chain of the Tænarian Hills.

The main course of this great mountain-range is nearly due south. But, if we take into account an arm branching off from it, the shoulder of which is in latitude 38°, we shall trace its continuation in an easterly direction, even into the island of Crete. Its names differed in different parts of the country.

A great portion of it, which runs southward and divides Thessaly and Epirus, is called Pindus,—a name blended with a thousand of those beautiful traditions with which the history of Greek civilization is so intimately connected. Nor is it less important to the eye of the geographer than interesting to that of the historian or the poet. Two branches, which it sends forth east and west (the former the Tymphœan, the latter the Acroceraunian range), form the boundary of the provinces of Thessaly and Epirus on the Macedonian frontier, and shelter their rich plains and lovely valleys from the north with their woody heights.

The eastern branch, the junction of which with the main chain lies under the fortieth degree of latitude, is Mount Olympus, to which another arm, running more southerly, approaches so nearly as to leave only a narrow interval,—the vale of Tempe. This valley conducts the waters of the Peneus, which receives into its bosom all the brooks of Thessaly, to the Ægean Sea.

The loftiest peaks of this latter arm are Pelion and Ossa, hallowed by so many traditions as the huge fragments of the Titanic warfare;—in other words, of the great conflict of elements. As we advance to the south, the ramifications, outstretching from the chain of Pindus from north to south-west, become

closer and more intricate. This district, which may be regarded as the heart of Greece, is divided into narrow plains walled in by mountains, and demanded the varied cultivation of a surface which no where afforded space for man to resign himself to nomadic indolence.

But to enumerate every striking feature, every remarkable mountain-top, (and what hill of Arcadia, what alp in Bœotia, was not celebrated in legend and in song?) lies beyond the aim of this work. They belong to the proper province of geography. The aspect of those great valleys which have formed themselves between the outstretching branches of these variously intersecting chains, and are the channels of streams, seems rather unfavourable to the old Samothracian tradition of an irruption of the Pontus* near the Cyanean islands; though the traces of a conflict with the battering waves are visible in the forms of their coasts. The islands themselves may be regarded as the fragments of that mainland which, in mythical story, bears the name of Lycaonia, and of which the heights alone were left visible above the submerging waters. All the mouths of the bays are wide on the south-eastern side; on the north-west, narrow and enclosed. The Malean bay alone lies in the exact direction of the current of the waters of the Pontus.

This great catastrophe has been, with considerable show of reason, attributed to volcanic powers, whose agency is still manifested by earthquakes, volcanic

* This tradition, however, has been very ingeniously supported by Wachsmuth, in his Grecian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 1. See Ukert's Geog., vol. i. p. 194.

products on the surface of the islands (sulphur, lava, and pumice stone); and by the rise of whole islands out of the bosom of the sea (e. g. Santorin in the year 1707); though no active craters remain to mark to the present generation the scene of the fabled warfare of the Titans. Hot springs, such as those found in the district of Troas, have not been noticed by ancient or modern geographers. The yoke to which that country has long been subject may be the cause that these, like many other things, have been neglected.

Rivers.

Amid the jagged and singular remains of that Plutonic revolution, and amid the lofty mountains which transect the islands and a portion of the mainland, like huge vertebræ, it was impossible for wide plains to form themselves. Rivers or torrents are abundant, as in all Alpine countries; but, as Spon pleasantly says, during a great part of the year they are to be heard rather in the songs of the poets, than in the gush or the ripple of the waters in their mountain-beds. In the hot months, it often requires the eye of the geologist to discover their track.

The Achelous, which empties itself into the Ionian Sea; the Peneus, which forces its way through the narrow pass between the mountain-range of Olympus and Ossa into the Ægæan; and the Alpheus, which flows into the Ionian, are the only rivers of any importance; the two former on the mainland, the latter in the peninsula.

Lakes.

Many of the most celebrated streams,—among them even the Ilissus,—after a short course, sink into the earth; others lose themselves, almost at their source, in the neighbouring sea or

lakes. There are many lakes, some of them with a subterranean outlet, fed by the confluence of brooks, and important to the surrounding shepherds from the perpetual verdure and freshness which the evaporation of their waters gives to the rich meadows on their margin.

Seas.

Nothing, however, had a deeper influence on the internal activity of all Greece than the neighbourhood of the sea, which forms its boundary on three sides, and has worn deep gulfs and created landing-places and harbours in all the sinuosities of its shores. The Ægæan Sea—on the north under the name of the Thracian, more to the south under that of the Eubœan—makes deep indentations into the land, and affords a secure navigation through the channel of the Euripus. It then, as the Myrtoan Sea, washes the southernmost headlands. The Greeks called this whole sea, from the Chersonesus onward, *our sea*, τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν θάλασσαν. On the west, Hellas was bounded by the Sicilian, Ionian or Adriatic Sea, whose deepest gulf, known since the time of Thucydides under the name of the gulf of Corinth, is divided from the waters of the Saronic by an isthmus only forty stadia in width. This and other bays gave to the peninsula of Pelops the form of a plane leaf, to which Strabo justly compares it. The early Greeks called the gulf of Corinth, after the important harbour of Phocis, the Crissæan. Its importance, however, in comparison with the Saronic, was considerably diminished by the position of the islands Cephalonia, Zacynthus, and Ithaca, just at its mouth; as well as by the promontory of Leucadia, and the

bay of Acarnania, the northern extremity of which form the Ambraeian gulf—the national boundary. Still farther to the north, on this western coast, lay the sea-governing Coreyra, the ancient seat of the ocean-wanderers, the Phæaeians.

But, exclusive of these islands, so rich in harbours, which lie like boats moored around some large vessel, Greece, in her two principal divisions—the mainland of Hellas and the peninsula of Pelops—possesses a longer line of coast than any other country in Europe; the well embayed England not excepted. Yet her shores were in many parts protected from the sudden descents of barbarians unacquainted with these seas, by strong currents, by rugged and precipitous rocks, or by sand-banks; as well as by the winds which prevail at stated times, and blow with peculiar violence around the promontory of Malea. These invited the navigator, sailing from Hellas to the neighbouring islands, to commit himself to their guidance, to make his passage even to Crete, which is only about fifty miles from Malea.* But, if sudden squalls agitated the Grecian sea, and drove back the timid seaman who ventured but cautiously upon the open deep, the example of the Cretans and the Phæaeians, who were distinguished for hardy seamanship and daring piracy, gradually emboldened him to defy the dangers of the waves, and fearlessly to take advantage of this high road of commerce.

Climate.

If, in addition to this peculiar conformation of the land, we consider the sky and atmosphere, and the productions of earth and sea which

* See Hom. Od. xix. 187. Propert. El. Lib. iii. 17.

they gave birth to or fostered, we shall be able to explain how it was that intellect, form of government, language, and other moral phenomena, so frequently displayed themselves within this narrow territory in strong and abrupt contrasts. For the skies of Greece (taken in the extent given to it by Strabo, its northern boundary in the latitude of Madrid, its southernmost point more southerly than Gibraltar) are purer and brighter than those of Italy under the same latitude, and stimulate every moral and physical power of man to greater vigour and activity. Though it could not be said of all Greece, as it was of Rhodes, that not a day passed without sunshine; though, on the heights of Arcadia, ceaseless rain, ἀθέσφατος ὄμβρος, and heavy snow prolonged the reign of winter far into the year, and the dews which nurtured vegetation rendered the nights unfavourable to man; though fogs were brought by the south wind, and tempests, brooding over the mountain-passes, shook

γαῖαν ἀπειρεσίην, ὀρέων τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα, Il. xx. 58.

"The boundless earth and the lofty heads of the mountains"

with thunders; yet had Herodotus reason to boast for Hellas, generally, that happy mixture of seasons which Plato specially claimed for Attica, truly calling it εὐκρασία τῶν ὡρῶν.

There the north-wind (mistral), returning at regular intervals, tempers the heat of the day; there the air is so pure and translucent that the naked eye can discern Chios from the heights of Hymettus; there monuments of art survive uninjured the revolutions of a thousand seasons, though they could not escape the barbarian hand of man.

The deep blue vault of heaven there rises above the most enchanting distance, and the clear and brilliant air (λαμπρότατος αἰθηρ)* is as favourable to the developement of muscular power as the gradual variations of temperature to that of nervous sensibility. Damp and wintry skies hung, it is true, more heavily over Bœotian Thebes, over Arcadia and Eretria; but their rapid vicissitudes rendered the body hardier, and at the same time more susceptible to their widely differing influences. Amid the mountains and deep valleys of Hellas, great differences of temperature were felt at the distance of a few stadia, and, combined with other local and social influences, produced diversities in the character of the inhabitants, such as are not found on the widest extent of level country. Let us but think of the luxuriant verdure of Chalcis in Eubœa, at the point where the Euripus is the narrowest; and then of the scanty and miserable existence of the fishermen of Anthedon on the opposite strand of Bœotia! But, whatever were its inequalities, scarcely any where was the atmosphere, as it now is in so many places, pestilential.

Where, however, nature pours her bounties upon man lapped in indolence and torpor, his nobler faculties are never awakened. It was a source of pride to the Hellenes, that wealth, comfort, and all those advantages which they comprehended in the word ἀρετὴ, could be theirs by labour alone; that Hellas had passed her childhood in poverty. The meadows, which, at a later period, rewarded the slightest toil with the richest increase, were originally

* Eurip. Med. v. 809.

gained from mere morass, or from the sea. Stony fields were brought into cultivation; and the Megarean wrung a harvest even from the rock which he tilled. But nature recompensed these toils with the blessings which invariably attend them; and laboriously-earned results stimulated the active mind to new endeavours.

Mineral productions.

The nobler metals were not found in abundance. Limestone, which is the predominant formation of the mountains of Greece, contains no rich metalliferous veins. The Phœnicians had dug up gold at Thasos; Thessaly, too, yielded some; and Hebrus, which flowed from the Panchaïc mountains, washed down gold in its waters. Silver was found only in Attic Laurium, in Epirus, and in Siphnos. The wants of Greece were supplied from the superfluities of Asia; whose plunder, and afterwards whose pay, wrought into consecrated vessels and offerings, enriched the sanctuaries and the temples, till the luxury of the Philippian age introduced the precious metals into domestic use. The extraction of them was defective and costly, as Böckh has shown in his admirable essay on the Laurian silver mines.*

Nevertheless, the mass of these metals was so much increased by trade and by the resort of strangers, that the price of other commodities in Demosthenes' time was five-fold what it had been in Solon's.

Copper was found in abundance at Chalcis in Eubœa, where Cadmus first taught the art of extracting it.

* Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin, 1814-15. And in the Appendix to the translation of the Public Œconomy of Athens.

Still richer in it were Rhodes and Cyprus, the latter of which shared the name of the Paphian goddess and of the metal.* There, the earliest miners of the ancient world, the Phœnicians, dug for copper, which, wrought into the three primitive weapons, spear, sword, and helmet (δόρυ, ἄορ, κόρυς), as likewise into the three-legged pot or cauldron, was still consecrated, even in later times, to the service of the goddess, and esteemed a sacred metal.

Iron,† which has recently been found in Laconia, in Eubœa, near Chalcis, and in many islands of the Archipelago, was first wrought in Lemnos. The art of increasing its hardness and density, by dipping it in water while red-hot, which was known even in the Homeric times, heightened the value of iron implements. This deep blue steel was also used to ornament the shield of Achilles. Axes made of it were esteemed among the costliest gifts, and were a profitable article of barter. The perfection of this ideal metal was the mythic steel of the gods, first celebrated by Hesiod,—the Adamant,—of which was forged every implement of supernal or infernal use—the chains of Prometheus, the shuttle of the Parcæ, and the sickle of Cronos.

The treasures produced by the marble quarries of Greece were not less prized than her metallic riches. In the laws of Athens they were ranked with mines. The limestone mountains of Attica, Hymettus and

* Κύπρος, the island; Κύπρις, the goddess; κύπριον, the metal.

† The Trojans pointed their arrows with iron, Il. iv. 123, while the Greeks still used brass only. See Ascham's Toxophilite.

Pentelicus, seemed exhaustless, and afforded the finest material for the architect or the sculptor. Nor was the marble of Paros inferior: other sorts were distinguished by their local names; for there was scarcely a spot which did not produce excellent sandstone or marble; some of it of the richest colours, which, at a later period, the gorgeous Roman taste eagerly sought after. Millstones from the island of Nisyros are mentioned in the poems of the Anthology.

Salt was, as its name denotes, a gift of the ocean. A feeling of gratitude towards all those means by which mankind were rescued from the rudeness and privations of savage life, gave to salt, too, a sacred character. With reason did the Greeks, down to the latest times, honour the ἱερὸς ἅλας.

Vegetable productions.

But the surface of the soil of Hellas was still more bounteous than its bosom. Its vegetable treasures, especially those of the Thessalian plains, are still celebrated by modern travellers. The banks of the rivers, enriched by the mud which these deposited, glowing with the richest vegetation, were, on that account, the earliest seats of the old Pelasgi. Of the gifts of Ceres, the farinaceous grains, wheat, πυρὸν, as Homer calls it, was not so common nor so heavy as in Sicily. Spelt was very generally grown; of this we find three sorts specified, τίφη, ζεία (which shows its relation to ζῆν),* and ὄλυρα; which names probably denoted different species grown in different times and places; the two latter served as food for horses. The prin-

* Hence too ζείδωρος ἀρόω.

cipal food of the heroic age was barley (κριθή, κρῖ λευκὸν), and porridge made of barley-meal (ἄλφιτα), the polenta of the modern Italians. Barley was the earliest grain cultivated in Attica: hence the sacred law, according to which barley was strewed over the sacrificial ox, and thin cakes of barley formed part of the offering. Barley-meal was mixed in the drink of the initiated; ears of barley formed the chaplet of the goddess, and of the victor in the Eleusinian games; and the Canephori, in the sacred processions, powdered their bodies with the dust of barley-meal. At the present day, when a ten or twelve-fold crop is considered the ordinary produce of good land, wheat, barley, rice (which Theophrastus mentions as an Indian plant, and Dioscorides recommends for its medicinal virtues), maize (indigenous to America), millet, and tobacco, are the chief produce of the Hellenic plains.*

The flocks of sheep and goats found rich and peculiarly aromatic pastures on the slopes of the mountains. There still grow the flowers around which hum those busy swarms of bees, whose honey, after the lapse of more than a thousand years, vindicates its ancient fame. *Satureia capitata* and *satureia thymbra* are, more especially, the plants out of which the bees of Hymettus sucked those luscious and fra-

* The most instructive details on this important subject have been collected by Link in his Essay on the Ancient History of the Cerealia, (Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin, 1816-17,) with which the reader ought to compare the ancient history of leguminous plants, of plants used for fodder, and of other esculent plants and herbs, by the same learned author (Idem, 1818-19).

grant juices with which none but those of Hybla could compare.

Recent travellers unite in extolling the profusion of flowers and shrubs which adorn the hills and vales of Greece. All the fragrant plants which Eupolis celebrates as the food of goats; the laurel, the oleander, the *arbutus unedo*, the *arbutus andrachne*, the *agnus castus*, the *cistus Creticus*, the *pistachia lentiscus*, the myrtle, all still bloom on the soil of Greece. Roses in great variety; the many kinds of heath; the ivy (*hedera helix*), once so luxuriant in Acharnæ; the broom, the sage, lilies, hyacinths, the asphodel and the Attic violet have not yet forsaken the land haunted by so many beautiful recollections.

Above this lesser vegetation, still rise (where man, with barbarian labour, has not destroyed them) lofty woods, part of which are useful for architecture and ship-building. The traveller still finds, here and there, planes and cypresses, the fragrant silver poplar, and the Grecian cedar, which, by their gigantic size, recall the sacred trees of antiquity.

Under the common name of oak the earliest Greeks comprehended all forest trees with edible fruits* (hence *fagus*, φηγός, from φαγεῖν, *quercus esculus*). The sacred oaks of Dodona (in Homer δρῦς), whose foliage, down to the latest times, adorned the head of the lord of the city, Zeus, had the first claim to the veneration of primitive man. The acorn, βάλανος, gave them food; mead, made from the honey furnished by the wild bees which swarmed around this tree of life, drink; and its parasite, the

* All which were called ἀκρόδρυα.

misletoe, yielded them birdlime for the chace. A tree, so bounteous in blessings, must needs be the abode of some beneficent deity, whose presence was proclaimed by the rustling of its leaves, and by the choirs of birds among its branches.

Other fruit-bearing trees, the nutritious chestnut, the walnut, the Cydonian quince, the pomegranate, all of which grew wild in Hellas, had been made to bear more generous fruit by the diligence of man. The wild fig, ἐρινεὸς, whose name suggests the town of the same name in Doris, had been used to bring to quicker maturity the cultivated sort, συκῆ; for the same process of caprification (ἐρινασμὸς), by which,* so early as the time of Theophrastus, and even earlier, the fructification of figs, by means of minute insects, which feed on the pollen of the wild fig-blossom, (ψῆνες, culices ficarii,) was produced, is still used by the Athenians in the month of June.

Oranges and lemons, which now thrive abundantly in spots sheltered by heights from cold blasts, we recognize as the golden fruit of the Hesperides, and from the time of Theophrastus we find them accurately described; the want of them was scarcely felt amidst the abundant increase which followed the introduction of the noblest of fruits, and the rich blessing of the vine with which Bacchus crowned the garden of Hellas. The islands of the Archipelago, Chios, Lemnos, Lesbos, Thasos, Leucas, &c., might boast of the earliest culture of the grape; but even Homer extols the vine-clad shore of Epidaurus, and the vineyards of Arne and Histiæa. To quote all the local names which he celebrates for their excellence would

* Plin. N. H. xv. 19; xvii. 27; Theophr. c. pl. 2, 9, 5.

furnish matter for a considerable work; as Henderson, in his History of Ancient and Modern Wines, has shown. Sibthorp counted in modern Greece thirty-nine different sorts of grape, exclusive of the small species commonly called the currant (from Corinth), which is not used for wine. But a custom, derived from the remotest antiquity (which, however, has not been adopted in Asia, on the hills of Troas, and in some islands, Naxos, for instance), spoils the flavour of the juice of the grape to European palates. Turpentine from the *pinus maritima*, which was barked for that purpose in September, often even tar, is poured in great quantities (three pounds to twenty-four gallons English) into the wine, to prevent its turning sour. The pine-cone on the staff of the thyrsus is the type by which the old Hellenes signified this ancient union of the gifts of the vine with those of the pine-tree.

According to old tradition, the olive (ἐλαία, *olea Europæa*) was brought into Greece from the north, while modern botanists affirm that it is a native of Crete. Recently, as well as in remoter times, it formed the wealth of Attica, where it throve excellently, and yielded the finest fruit. A jug filled with the oil of the sacred inviolable trees was the highest prize at the Panathenæa. Modern botanists have discovered eight or ten different species of this tree in Hellas. Its oil, which was an article of indispensable utility to the Greeks, both for light, and in the baths, and at their feasts, was one of the richest sources of national revenue. The export of oil to countries which did not produce it,—as, for instance, Babylon, Pontus, and Persia,—permitted from the time of Solon,

was very profitable to the state. There was an ancient practice of planting olive-trees in alternate rows with fig-trees in the cornfields of Attica; and indeed the Greeks, generally, were accustomed to plant fruit-trees, even the vine, in rows on their arable land (ἀλωά).

Medicinal plants grew in great abundance in Crete (*munus medicabile Cretæ*). The strange notion of the curative properties of the hellebore does not seem to have prevailed there. The true dittany (δίκταμνος, *origanum Dictamnus*) is a native of that island, and a multitude of other plants, whose disfigured names recall to us the travellers of Dioscorides, who, like the Englishman Sibthorp, and the German Sieber, devoted their attention to the vegetable productions of Greece.

In a climate so rich in the most varied vegetation, we might safely anticipate a no less remarkable abundance and variety of animal life. The lion was, according to mythical traditions, a native of the proper soil of Hellas. One assigned him to Nemea; another, which has been preserved in a monument lately discovered by Brönstedt, gave him to Ceos. Tigers, the peasants affirmed they had seen on the opposite shore of Asia, in the country around Bairamicca, at the foot of the ancient Gargarus, which thus justified the old renown of the Trojan Ida, as a μήτηρ θηρῶν. Wolves were so numerous in ancient Arcadia, that lycanthropy, the belief in the wehrwolf,*

Animal productions. Beasts.

* See Goethe's Gipsy Song for the *modern* superstition. The crime of Lycaon as well as his name is probably to be referred to this superstition.—See, too, the Glossary of Sir F. Madden, on the ancient poem of William and the Wehrwolf.

or the hypochondriacal illusion of being transformed into a wolf, was an endemic disease of these acorn-eating people, and was sought to be arrested by the sacrifice of young boys. The most remarkable symptoms of lycanthropy (which Marcellus of Sida, who wrote in the time of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, describes as a disease still prevalent) were the imitation of the howling of wolves, or other wild beasts, and the melancholy haunting of burial-places, which the patients, under the influence of their dreadful insanity, sought as their favourite retreat. The disease was most rife in the beginning of spring, generally about the month of February.

The hardy youths of Attica exercised their skill and strength in the chace, accompanied by powerful dogs; wolves, deer, and hares were the principal game. The largest breed, the Molossian hound, very much resembling the wolf, was equally valuable to the Greeks, as the guardian of their houses and of their flocks. Art has bequeathed to us a type of this noble race, which is now in England.* It is, probably, a copy of a work of Myron.

But the Spartan greyhound, the attendant on Diana in all ancient works of art; the Arcadian, Argive, Locrian, and Eretrian dogs, had also their peculiar renown. Their posterity, the herds of wild dogs which now beset and annoy the traveller, bear the stamp of the general degeneracy.

Wild boars also furnished occupation for the passionate lovers of the chace. Tame hogs, very nearly resembling the wild breed, formed a main article of

* In the collection of Lord Feversham.

food: their flesh roasted was the principal diet of the athletes during their training (ἀναγκοφαγία), and at a great many sacrificial ceremonies swine were prescribed by law.

Horses were not indigenous to so mountainous a country as Hellas; they were probably imported from the northern coast of Africa. How they were transplanted into the plains of Thessaly,* where they relapsed to their native wildness, cannot, however, be precisely ascertained. According to a primeval tradition, this noble animal was a gift of Poseidon, who was himself sprung from the steed-bearing Libya; and whose earliest rites on the shores of Greece, for instance, in Onchestus, were connected with equestrian games. The harnessing of horses in the quadrigæ and the games of mimic war were imported arts. The Thessalians were masters of the art of guiding their horses round the ring with the bit; and in training them for the field of battle.† But, with jealous pride of race, several tribes claimed the honour of subduing the horse; and Athens disdained not to ascribe this glory to her holy patroness, on the western pediment of the Parthenon. For to tame and discipline the free and unconquered steed was felt to be one of the achievements which attests the supreme dignity of man. To what perfection the horse, by whose aid the most glorious prize at the games was gained, attained in this happy clime, we learn from some written testimonies, and still more from the works of art which have come down to us in great abundance. Simon, an Athenian contemporary with

* Theocr. Id. xviii. 30. † Virg. Geo. iii. 115.

the great Pericles, is the earliest writer on the training of the horse of whose name we have any knowledge.

Equal care was bestowed on the bulls, which grew to an enormous size on the fat pastures of Epirus; or those which ran wild in Thessaly, and the capture and subjugation of which, man esteemed the triumph of his corporeal strength (Taurokathapsia). According to the early laws of Greece, the ploughing ox was held sacred, and was entitled, when past service, to range the pastures in freedom and repose. It was forbidden, by the decrees of Triptolemus, to put to death this faithful ally of the labours of the husbandman, who shared the toils of ploughing and threshing. Whenever, therefore, an ox was slaughtered, he must first be consecrated or devoted as a sacrifice (*ἱερεῖον*), by the sprinkling of the sacrificial barley; this was a precaution against the barbarous practice of eating raw flesh (*βουφαγία*). A peculiar sacrifice (*Διιπόλια*) at Athens, at which the slayer of the ox fled, and the guilty axe was thrown into the sea, on the sentence of the Prytaness, yearly placed before the people a visible type of the first beginnings of their social institutions. Those sacrifices at which hundreds fell,—hecatombs,—must have been an incentive to the breeding of these animals; and it must not be forgotten, that this word, as has often been explained, is used to denote other sacrifices besides those of oxen and smaller numbers of victims.

The climate and soil of Greece were peculiarly favourable to the breeding of sheep, of which two races, the long and the flat tailed, were especially distinguished. Modern naturalists have pretended to de-

tect in the form of the rams' heads, so frequent in ancient temples, the precise craniological peculiarities of the genuine Merino breed. Countless flocks grazed in the rich pastures of Arcadia, and their sudden and resistless flight, without any obvious cause, was ascribed to the wanton tricks of Pan (δεῖμα πανικὸν, or πανεῖα). Pliny relates, that a Grecian breed of sheep (whether he speaks of Magna Græcia or of Hellas is not certain) was much esteemed for its wool.

The goat, so variously useful to the old world, was not less favoured by nature, and throve especially at Seyros. The characteristic qualities of this animal, so congenial to the sportive and petulant Greeks, are caught with singular accuracy and felicity in the works of antique art. And they still enliven the mountains of Hellas with their gambols.

The ass and the mule here, as in other southern countries, attained to a great size, and to a strength which was the more valuable from its long duration. Hence, the simplicity of the Homeric age thought it no scorn to liken the most valiant hero, the slowest to quit the field or to recede before the foe, to an ass. Plato, who, contrasting the slow comprehension of Xenocrates with the mental rapidity of Aristotle, compared the former to the ass, the latter to the horse, appears to have been the first who gave this patient and intelligent animal an ill name. At a later period, when the belief in the bugbears and spectres of the Aristophanic age recognised even an asinine empusa,* this prejudice became more established. But the

* Aristoph. Ran. v. 295. Acharnens. 582. See also Wachsmuth's G. Ant. vol. iii. p. 103.

mice which drank the sacred oil, or gnawed the sacrificial garlands, are necessary to complete the picture; were it only to remind us of the pretended Homeric poem, the Battle of the Frogs and Mice, in whose burlesque descriptions the Grecian world so early delighted.

Mice, from their rapid increase, were reckoned among the plagues of the land, and furnished occasion to many proverbs and sayings. Their presentiment of changes in the weather, however, gave them a place among the prophetic animals, which were thus brought into connexion with the god of prophecy, Apollo Smintheus.* The arch-enemy of the mice was the small owl (*Strix passerina*), which, as inhabitant of the citadel of Athens, was sacred to Pallas, and peculiarly cherished by the Athenians. The *ménagerie* of the gods generally bore a twofold relation: first, to the place of their earliest worship, and then to the peculiar qualities which the god and his favourite animal possessed in common. But of all this, indeed, Homer knew nothing.

Birds.

A native of the towering Olympus, and of all the peaks of the range of Pindus, was the eagle, whom his lofty flight, his keen eye, his steadfast gaze on heaven, and the flames which were seen to gleam around him as he soared through electric clouds, marked out to be, without a competitor, the servant of Zeus, and the bearer of the thunderbolt. From the time of Pindar he has been the faithful attendant of Jupiter. The soaring hawk, for similar reasons, and as the herald of indications from the

* Hom. Il. i. v. 39, and the Scholia.

realms of ether, was attached to the prophet-god, Apollo. The white migratory pigeon of Syria was sacred to Venus, because it is frequently found on Paphos and Eryx, where the worship of Aphrodite, as a goddess of outward nature, first arose. The Dodonean doves, according to Herodotus, were dark coloured. The first white ones that were seen in Greece, appeared when the Persian fleet, under Mardonius, was wrecked at the foot of Athos.

The peacock belonged to the temple of Here, at Samos. From that spot they spread over Greece, but were always rare. In the time of Socrates, and even of Philip of Macedon, they were admired as curiosities, and in earlier times, a thousand drachmæ was the price of a single peahen. An edict of the Emperor Dioeletian (A.D. 303), for the city of Stratonice, fixes the price of a fatted peacock, in dear times, at two hundred and fifty (bad) denarii; for Roman gluttony, from the time of Hortensius, had reckoned peafowl among its dainties. Pheasants are spoken of as a festal dish by Philoxenus of Cythera, in his poem of the Banquet (δεῖπνον). A hybrid race was produced by a cross with the common fowl. Fighting-cocks, in whose battles the ancients so greatly delighted, were reared more particularly in Bœotia, Rhodes, and Chalcis.

Nor was the melodious song of the nightingale wanting in the groves and thickets of Greece, though she was but a foreigner and a visiter, and her voice was heard but for a short time. Attic vanity connected the sweet songstress of spring with Attic history by a mythic tale: the household swallow was, in like manner, interwoven with the legendary history of Athens by the tragic poets of the Attic stage. The nightingale and the swallow were both of them

birds of passage. The children in Rhodes greeted the latter as herald of the spring in a little song. Troops of them, carrying about a swallow (χελιδονίζοντες), sang this from door to door, and collected provisions in return. It is so descriptive, and affords so many interesting comparisons, that we may allow it a place here.

Ἦνθ', ἦνθε χελιδὼν
καλὰς ὥρας ἄγοισα,
καλὼς ἐνιαυτὼς,
ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκὰ,
ἐπὶ νῶτα μέλαινα.
—παλάθαν σὺ προκύκλει
ἐκ πίονος οἴκω
οἴνω τε δίπαστρον,
τύρω τε κάνιστρον
καὶ πύρνα; χελιδὼν
καὶ τὸν λεκιθίταν
ὄκ ἀπωθεῖται. πότερ' ἀπίωμες, ἢ λαβώμεθα;
αἰ μέν τι δώσεις·—αἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἰάσομες·
ἢ τὰν θύραν φέρωμες, ἢ θυπέρθυρον,—
—ἢ τὰν γυναῖκα τὰν ἔσω καθημέναν.
μικκὰ μέν ἐντι, ῥᾳδίως μιν οἴσομες.
ἐὰν φέρῃς δέ τι, μέγα δή τι καὶ φέροις.
ἄνοιγ', ἄνοιγε τὰν θύραν χελιδόνι!
οὐ γὰρ γέροντές εἰμες, ἀλλὰ παιδία.*

The Swallow is come!
The Swallow is come!
O fair are the seasons, and light
Are the days, that she brings
With her dusky wings,
And her bosom snowy white.

* Athenæus, viii. c. 60. The first eleven verses are monometer hypercatalectic anapæstics. In v. 10, the best MS. has καὶ πυρῶνα: Hermann de Metris, II., 37, § 16, reads καὶ πυρά, thinking that πυρός might occasionally have had a neuter plural. The true reading, however, is evidently πύρνα, from πύρνον, which is both a correct form, and nearer to the manuscript.—*Transl.*

—And wilt thou not dole
From the wealth, that is thine,
The fig and the bowl
Of rosy wine,
And the wheaten meal, and the basket of cheese,
And the omelet cake, which is known to please
The Swallow, that comes to the Rhodian land?
Say, must we be gone with an empty hand,
Or shall we receive
The gift that we crave?
If thou give, it is well;
But beware, if thou fail,
Nor hope, that we'll leave thee,
Of all we'll bereave thee.
We'll bear off the door,
Or its posts from the floor,
—Or we'll seize thy young wife who is sitting within,
Whose form is so airy, so light, and so thin,
And as lightly, be sure, will we bear her away.
Then look that thy gift be ample to-day,
And open the door, open the door,
To the Swallow open the door!
No greybeards are we
To be foil'd in our glee,
But boys, who will have our will
This day,
But boys, who will have our will.

The chief food of the swallow consisted of those chirping crickets (the ἄκριδες, as well as the τέττιγες) which were kept in houses like singing birds, and more especially in the apartments of the women, By a quick tremulous motion of the wings against the sides these little creatures produced a sort of song which, according to the notion of the Greeks, formed a part of the full charm of summer. The fashion of wearing a golden cricket in the hair was one of great

antiquity in Athens. Many fanciful interpretations have been given to this custom; by some it was said to denote not only the love of music but the privileges of autochthony, of which this insect was the sacred symbol.

Autumn was the season of that annual emigration of the cranes to the sources of the Nile, which suggested those inimitable lines in which Homer describes the noisy troops.* Storks, quails (the type of every thing common-place), and geese, were among the migratory birds. The swan, which the lyric poets, from Hesiod's time, made the attendant on Apollo,—bringing with her from far Ligya that dying song, which was afterwards derided as a fable to the well known seats of the god,—bred in the marshy shores of the Eurotas, in Tempe and at Delphi. But the ear of the Greeks heard, even in the call with which the tame partridge enticed its wild companions, a clear song, agreeable from the invitation it conveyed. And thus the first voice of the cuckoo rejoices the ear of man in every clime and country of the wide earth.

Fishes.

The sea, in its bays and harbours, affords treasures which are but little known or explored. Modern travellers affirm that the Greeks are now very inexpert fishermen, and it appears that their ancestors had but little skill in fishery. The most important production of the sea was the thunny, (θύννις, πήλαμος, κορδύλη, θύννος ὄρκυνος, named according to the difference of size and age), which yearly passed in shoals through the Gaditanian strait into the inner sea. The whole body resorted to the

* Hom. Il. iii. v. 2.

Propontis and Bosporus, where they deposited their spawn. This main shoal was driven into nets, and the fish harpooned with the trident, the primeval weapon of the Phœnician thunny-fishers, and the emblem of their maritime supremacy. It was not thought expedient to catch fish in the open sea; they were fatter near the shore.

Oysters (τήθεα, at a later period λιμνοστρεα), which were fished for by divers, were eaten in abundance by the contemporaries of Homer. It is, however, among the Romans that we first hear them spoken of as a dainty. The murex was abundant and of remarkable goodness on the coast of Greece. The scpia, too, with its peculiar power and instinct of self-preservation, by tinging the water around it with a brown liquid, was known, though no attempt had been made to apply it to technical uses as a dye.*

The dolphin, celebrated in old tradition for its love of music and its attachment to man, was found in abundance, and afforded numerous subjects for painting and sculpture.

Pearls were not found in the Grecian seas. Anacreon, an inhabitant of Lydia, is the first who mentions them as the ornament of his mistress (if, indeed, the 20th ode is his). They, as well as gems, were first in use among the Greeks, as a part of female dress, after the time of Alexander.

The great lakes, especially the Copaic, contained delicious eels,† which, particularly when they attained to a great size, were esteemed sacred. Venomous ser-

* The Romans used it for ink. Pers. Sat. iii. 13.

† Athen. Lib. i. Cap. 49. Aristoph. passim.

pents were more abundant in fable than in reality. Whether any such animal as the flying dragon, of which so many histories are told, ever existed, is doubtful. Serpents, which inhaled the vaporous breath of the universal mother, Earth, were thought to have prophetic gifts. The Epidaurian snake of Æsculapius (*Coluber Æsculapii*), was one of the most harmless of those which, by their docility, were valuable allies in every kind of jugglery.

And if poisonous plants, such as the hellebore, which grew on the rugged rocks of Attica; the Arcadian hippomanes,* used in incantations; the mandrake, &c., were natives of Greece; nature, with an equal hand, had enriched her soil with antidotes, and had thus furnished it with all that is needful for the service of man.

* Theoc. Id. ii. 48, et schol.

Chapter II.

Perfect organization of the Human Species in Greece—Laws of Beauty —Proportions of the Human Body—Aborigines of Greece—Pelasgi—Hellenes — Origin of the name Pelasgi — Traditions concerning them—Tyrrhene Pelasgi—Thraces—Universal belief of the descent of Civilization from some Mountain in the North—Hellenes—Their Origin and Predominance—Heroic Age—Homer—Date and Character of the Homeric Poems.

In the midst of a world adorned with beauties of so peculiar and yet so varied a character—beauties of which we can here give only transient and scanty glimpses—man had his full share of the common and striking pre-eminence. The ideal forms which the artists of Greece, with their singularly accurate conception of the true subjects of art, produced, were, as to their material part, derived from reality, and lived and moved before their eyes. Laconia, still distinguished for the surpassing beauty of its women, afforded models for forms of Junonian grace and dignity; the muscular and well-fed prize-fighters of Bœotia for the frame of Hercules; and the herdsmen and syrinx-players of Arcadia have come down to us in all their robust truth and nature in the countenance of the Fauns. From a very remote age, the Homeric epithets (not to mention the Arcadian court of beauty, and the like) had established among the Greeks certain conceptions of beauty respecting the several parts of the body. These notions were matured by the speculative acuteness so peculiar to

the Hellenic race, and were brought to a perfcetion whieh, as we learn from a eclebrated passage in Galen,* from the time of Chrysippus, searecly admitted of improvement or addition. Such wcrc the singularly favourable eireumstanees under which Polyelctus wrote his work on the harmony of the parts of the human body, while hc kept beforc his eyes that canonical statuc which afforded a *norma* or standard for the sensiblc illustration of every law hc laid down. What the gcnial influenee of the climate and the favourablc cffeet of the clothing failed to produee, was dcvclopcd by Hellcnic cducation; bcginning, as Plutareh rcquires, with the nurse, and continuing through evcry stage of childhood and adoleseencc: thc careful wateh ovcr the morals and manners of youth; the maturity of the sexes before they wcre permittcd by law to contract marriage; thc training whieh gave frcedom, elasticity, and hardiness to the male sex, and thc room afforded for the developcment and exercise of every powcr, whether intcllectual or corporeal, of a human bcing.

Thus was rearcd and unfolded that full flower and pridc of form, that perfection of human bcauty whieh has been falsely regarded as thc mcrc crcation of the sculptor's fancy. Blumenbach has shown, from a Greck skull in his collection, that the so callcd Grecian profile, i. e. that junction of thc frontal bone with thc nose, in whieh the facial angle (which is 58° in the orang outang) falls bctwcen 90° and 100°, was a real existence, and not an invention of art. Perfect dcvclopement and formation of body, and lofty staturc,

* Galen. de Temperam. Lib. i. Cap. ult. Tom. iii. p. 50.

are regarded by Aristotle as necessary conditions of beauty; and the popular faith of the Greeks honoured the relics of its heroes in proportion to their possession of these excellent qualities.

They had established certain rules of proportion, which, since Audran's speculations, have been ascertained by the measurement of ancient statues. The standard of a perfect female body was, as we find from the Medicean Venus, and the Venus of Melos, rather more than eight times the length of the head. The proportions of the Apollo Belvidere are the same; to the more agile Diana,* they gave nearly nine times.

In the personifications of female youth and loveliness, in whom there was not, as in the '*Virago Pallas*,' a predominance of the masculine character, we find, in accordance with the finest and happiest organization, the pelvis in the proportion of 4, 5, or $\frac{4}{7}\frac{5}{}$ parts of the length of the whole body. In the male statues, on the contrary, even in the Hercules, the region of the pelvis is never more than a fifth of the whole body. The upper part of the male body, that is the whole trunk, was fashioned by the Greeks, true to its destination, somewhat shorter than the lower; unless in cases where the artist intended to give any idea of clumsiness. The agreement that we find in this particular in works of undoubted genuineness affords the best proof that it was taken from what was daily before their eyes. The opposite proportions are, in accordance with nature, found in the female figures.

Observations of this kind, tending to prove that

* The Diana of Versailles.

man, living under these skies, and surrounded by objects of such splendour and beauty, shared in the general pre-excellence of nature's works, might be multiplied without end. But we must leave them to works which afford more space, and are more specially devoted to these inquiries.*

Aborigines of Greece.

Who were the aboriginal dwellers in this highly-favoured land? What was the race which nature, in her prodigality, bestowed upon it? is one of the questions to which all the acuteness and the varied resources of modern times have sought an answer, without arriving at any proportionate or satisfactory results.

Several tribes, as old tradition asserts, were natives of the Hellenic soil. Two are especially mentioned by Herodotus as of predominant importance. The Pelasgi, who had never migrated, and the Hellenes, who had been great wanderers, were, the former the root of the Attic-Ionic race, the latter that of the Doric.

But the assertion of Herodotus is contradicted by a number of undoubted witnesses, who compel us to admit that the Father of history sought by this explanation to throw light upon certain phenomena, whose true explanation was already lost, though they were too recent to be passed over with entire neglect and indifference.

This assertion of Herodotus, whose great name is generally regarded as a sort of pledge, has thrown

* Among many others, Savage's "*Anatomie du Gladiateur Combattant*" (Paris, 1812) deserves favourable mention.

doubt and obscurity on the meaning of the name Pelasgi. The greater number of commentators now understand this to comprehend *all the inhabitants* of the Grecian coasts and interjacent country, before the division of the Doric and Ionic races; consequently, all the inhabitants of Hellas, anterior to the epoch at which the collective denomination, Hellenes, first appears.

Other learned men, who have seized the meaning of the authorities more precisely, hold the Pelasgi (or, according to the older form, Pelargi) to be a tribe who descended from the mountains, and settled on the alluvial banks of the rivers, in the low plains which the ancients called ἄργος: their name was consequently derived from πέλω and ἄργος.* Their cities were the Larissæ,† the number of which indicate a populous nation, skilled in the art of building indestructible edifices. Remains of these are seen in those Cyclopean walls which have been discovered in so many places. Massy hewn stones were united together by their mere weight without any mortar. The oldest specimen of this kind of building is found in the walls of Tiryns. A still more remarkable one is the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, discovered by Sir William Gell, where an enormous transverse block, laid across the tops of two door-posts gradually slanting inwards, forms the doorway; and square stones, laid horizontally on each other, (the lower always projecting beyond the one above it,) rose in a sort of dome, surmounted by a single stone (ἁρμονία).

* Müller, Orchomenos, s. 125.

† See Müller's Orchomenos und die Minyer, s. 126. Schol. in Apollon. i. 1091. Eustath. in Il. ii. 839. Strab. ix. 410.

All the arts of husbandry—the harnessing the ox to the yoke, the use of the goad, the baking of bread —were attributed to Pelasgus (the collective name for the whole race), as was also the measurement of land. The rivers, which arrested their wanderings, compelled them to cut canals or drains, and to construct sluices. The old Pelasgian gods were gods of the mountain and of the field, whose altars were unstained with blood.

Even in Herodotus' time, the old Pelasgi were regarded as a rude, ignoble people, with an unhellenic language, and a nameless host of deities. Modern scholars have endeavoured, with considerable acuteness, to explain this by the supposition that they discerned traces of a two-fold tradition relating to them. The oldest of these represents the Pelasgi as an autochthonous and stationary race. In other words, its authors knew of no earlier inhabitants of Greece than the Pelasgi, whom they therefore regarded and described as sprung immediately from the earth; as Proseleni, *i. e.* elder than the moon.*

The word autochthonous may indeed be generally regarded as marking the impassable limits of historical research; in the present instance it defines them. This tradition assumed Arcadia as the primal seat of the Pelasgi.

A second and more recent tradition represented the Pelasgi as wandering bands skilled in handicrafts, but more inclined to a piratical life, and either a sort of offset from those old Pelasgic Arcadians, or as standing in some other relation to them. As the Pelasgi

* Ov.

Orta prior lunâ, de se si credere dignum est,
A magno tellus Arcade nomen habet.

in question were generally distinguished by the annex Tyrrhene, it is possible that the similarity of the name in its elder Attic form to the name of the stork (πελαργός) contributed to the creation of a legend which spared the trouble of discovering a mother-country for a homeless race. From the time that this branch of the old stem was accustomed to be more accurately distinguished by the addition Tyrrhene Pelasgi, or Pelasgic Tyrrheni, there arose a confusion in the idea, which is intelligible only among a people of so mobile a fancy. Tyrrheni (from τύρρις, tower, castle), with which that 'Pelasgic' was thought to be connected, would lead to the idea of tower-builders; and thence to those old Pelasgic tower-builders, who, driven from Athens, repaired to Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and at a later period to Thrace. These Pelasgic (building) Tyrrheni were subsequently confounded with the Italian Tyrrheni, the Etrusci: afterwards, when the principal name, Tyrrheni, was less carefully preserved, and the descriptive or adjective word Pelasgi obtained a decided predominancy, the qualities which had brought the Tyrrheni into disrepute were attributed to the Pelasgi. And thus it happened that the name Pelasgi, taken to represent the acts of the Pelasgic Etrusci, came to be regarded as synonymous with seaman and pirate.*

Other prehellenic races, whose connexion with

* This is the opinion of Wachsmuth, in his *Alterthumskunde*, which, based as it is on profound historical research, solves many difficult problems. He is directly opposed to the theory according to which the Pelasgi were a completely and characteristically different race from the Hellenes.

each other falls within the province of historical inquiry, were the Leleges, the Carians, the Curetes, and the Caucones. The Thraces seem to be rather mythic than historical; their name is blended with many old traditions of early progress toward civilization; and they must therefore be carefully distinguished from the barbaric Thracians of later times. According to the tradition, those old Thraces once inhabited the country from Pieria and Tempe to Phocis, or even to Attica and Eubœa, and the Hellenic sea. It is possible that tribes may have migrated from the country lying between the ancient Pieria, north of Olympus, to the plains of Thessaly, and even still more southerly; and that they introduced among the southern tribes the service of the Muses, and the enthusiastic worship of Dionysos, together with the earliest hymns, all which, however, became diffused among the Hellenes, and retained not the slightest trace of foreign origin.

Their early culture has been attempted to be explained by those same notions, common to almost every people of the ancient world, which placed the seat of the gods on some high mountain in the north, and ascribed to its inhabitants a superiority in civilization, arising from an intimate acquaintance with the gods. This belief is sufficiently indicated in the legends of Orpheus, Musæus, Thamyris, &c. We find the same idea in the Zend Avesta, which places the seat of Ormuzd, the scene of his revelations, the assemblage of his divine spirits, and an ideal life free from all want and all care, on the Alborj, around which revolve sun, moon, and stars. We find it in the Meru of the Hindus; in the Kaf of the Ara-

bians; the scene of the divine presence, and the acknowledged source of the blessing which descended upon mortals from a place of higher sanctity.*

From the time of Herodotus, the belief in an emigration from Phœnicia, Asia, and Egypt, into the islands and mainland of Greece has gained ground and firmly established itself in the minds of a great number of inquirers. It rests upon historical assertions, and upon a multitude of indications gathered from the life, the language, and the manners of the Hellenes. The nature of the country, with its inviting harbours, its currents, and its regularly returning sea-breezes, would, as it should seem, independently of all historical testimony, suffice to justify a presumption of this kind. But the ingenuity of several modern historians has, for that very reason, delighted in maintaining either that these emigrations never took place at all, or that their consequences were quite insignificant, and had no influence on Grecian life: and lastly, that the Oriental (where it is impossible to deny its existence) is so completely separate and distinct from the Hellenic, that any amalgamation of the two must appear wholly impossible.

Other learned men have, on good grounds, thought this opinion contradicted by clear proofs of the early influence of the Asiatic nations, at that time so full of activity. But this investigation, which would alone suffice to fill a pretty thick volume, if due reference were made to all the documents, will be better

* Hence the perpetual allusions to a superstitious reverence for "high places" in the historical books of the Old Testament.

followed out in places where space is allowed for the full statement of the question.*

Among all the earlier races, however, the dominant race of Hellenes, who originally dwelt by Dodona and the Achelous, attained to the highest consideration and importance. It was, probably, there that the inhabitants of that district, the warlike followers of Achilles, whom Homer also calls Myrmidons or Phthiotes, by their extremely ancient connexion with the shrine of Hella, and by their sacerdotal Helli or Sylli, founded their especial claim to a denomination which, at a later period, was transferred to the collective people, and contradistinguished only from the Pelasgi.

The renown which Homer first conferred upon Achilles, who invoked the Dodonean Zeus as his ancestral deity, was one of the main causes which gave the name of the Hellenes so great a preponderancy over that of the Achæans, the Danaans, and the Argives; and the fact that it was this particular name among the three tribes over which Achilles ruled (the Achæans, Myrmidons, and Hellenes), which gained the supremacy, has its foundation in the traditionary legends of the heroes of this family,—Aetor, Æacus, Peleus, and Achilles; of whom Æacus, the founder of a new race, was also said to be the founder of the chief temple on the island of Ægina,—the Hellenium, afterwards called the Panhellenium. Delphic oracles early used the Hellenic name; and besides these, it may be conjectured that the Amphictyonic council, which

* At the head of those opposed to each other on this question, stand Otfried Müller and Creuzer; and also Böttiger in his "Kunst-Mythologie."

was intimately connected with the Delphic sanctuary, and was probably early so described in poetry, might contribute to the universality of the Hellenic name.

The spread of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus, and lastly the name of the judges at the Olympic Games, which was originally Hellanodicæ, operated further to diffuse the name of a tribe over the mass, and, joined to the causes alleged above, determined its triumphant pre-eminence.

This period of the remarkable predominance of Hellenism over all the other races of Greece, Heeren has appropriately designated as *the heroic age of the Greeks:* a period which has appeared to all succeeding ages invested with the brilliancy of Epic poetry, and which has shed a kind of sanctity over every thing connected with it, whether nearly or remotely—this period whence emanate the threads that, passing through succeeding ages, are knit to modern times; this period which contains the germ of every blossom that has since adorned the world, is especially important to a knowledge of the intellectual and social life of the Hellenes; and considerable time is, therefore, well devoted to an accurate investigation of it.

Fortunately, a standard for its appreciation has come down to us; time has left standing a bridge, over which we may pass to examine its details, from a nearer point of view than we can gain of any other people of the antique world, equally remote from ourselves.

It is needless to say that we mean the immortal work attributed to Homer. Although a poem, this sacred gift of the Muses possessed, in the eyes of the most accurate and competent critics of the

old world, the uncontested character of an historical document. Homer (to use the universally adopted form of expression) merited the faith reposed in him; because the singers of the Iliad and the Odyssey paint the very world in which they lived and sang; because the bard of antiquity was a witness and a sharer of all the scenes he described; because the reality that excited his imagination, and to which he gave language and utterance, is brought, with a quickened apprehension of the external circumstances that surrounded him, and with all its original freshness and vividness, before our senses.

Homer, the father of modern verse,—the poet who has thrown into the shade all that preceded and all that have followed him—under whose single name the singers and the songs of several Ionic schools are confounded, may, according to the oldest and the most weighty testimony which is to be gathered from the traditions concerning the poet and the spirit of his poem, be assigned to the second or third century after the destruction of Troy. This supposition seems to be confirmed by calculations founded on external circumstances. The Ionians, crowded at home after the destruction of Troy, had founded colonies on the coasts of Lesser Asia; and epic poetry, naturalized in this genial soil and under these benign skies, took root and flourished with all the vigorous luxuriance of the vegetation which overshadowed the head of the poet. Out of this school, probably after the lapse of about a century (which is the least we can allow for the completion of such a work), arose, in all his giant grandeur, Homer; to

whose name succeeding generations, with ungrateful gratitude, imputed all the fame of the predecessors whom he threw into oblivion. Even the lustre of those who came after him was lost in his all-eclipsing splendour.

Even now, separated as we are by centuries from the events which he describes, Homer still places them before us with a truth, vividness, and accuracy which, ages ago, awakened the belief that he must have been a contemporary of those who are ennobled in his lays; that he relates to his hearers only what himself had seen or experienced. The error is pardonable; for the volatile nature of spoken words, and the tradition of song and story through the lips of the people, will endure nothing but the fresh breath of nature and the colouring of the time and the country in which they are uttered.* And the Epos, as it passes from mouth to mouth, and from age to age, assumes a different form with the changes in nations and in times.

Therefore may Homer be regarded by us, too, as the pure fountain of the history of his age (provided always that this is understood in its proper limitation, which never forgets to acknowledge in the poet the poetic character); as the clear, untroubled mirror of the life of his contemporaries; claims which, throughout antiquity, have never been disallowed.

The valour of Achilles, and the bloody vengeance which this warlike prince took on the greatest of his adversaries, by whose death he expiated the fate of

* As Wilhelm Müller, in his admirable "*Homerische Vorschule*," has shown.

his friend; and afterwards, the dexterous prudence of Odysseus furnished the matter for his Epopœa. Within their circuit, however, lies the whole life of the world as it then existed, in all its manifold details; nor have the circumstances and incidents of a remote state of society, in all their vivid distinctness, ever come down to us in a richer and more magnificent stream. As the Human is, in every respect, the predominant characteristic of Homer, we shall direct our attention to the relations and condition of man, considered purely as man, before we attempt to gain a conception of those in which he stood to civil society, or to the immortal gods.

Chapter III.

Condition of the Greek as a human being—Birth—Treatment and diet of the new-born infant—Duties of a nurse—Training of the boy—Miserable state of orphans—Accomplishments and exercises of youth—Occupations and graces of maidens—Mode of contracting marriage—Marriage ceremonies—Condition of married women—Female slaves and concubines—Condition of slaves—Hired servants—their duties—Death—Piety to the dead—Funeral rites—Demonstrations of grief—Burning of the dead—Its origin and details—Collection and interment of the ashes—Funeral games.

The deity who presided over man's entrance into life was Ilithyia, whom Homer speaks of sometimes in the singular, at other times in the plural;* in the latter case, however, as standing in a dependent relation to Here, the great matron and mother. The new-born child (according to Homer, *νεογιλὸς*; at a later period, *νεογνὸς*) receives its first nourishment, either from its mother, as Telemachus from Penelope, and Hector from Hecuba; or from a nurse, as Ulysses from Eurycleа. Nausicaa and Astyanax, too, were nursed at a stranger's breast. The Homeric word *τρέφειν* is changed into *τιθηνεῖν*, or *τιθηνεῖσθαι*, by the author of the hymn to Demeter. The swaddling, and the other earliest cares of infancy, are still more accurately described by the author of the Homeric hymn to Hermes. It was the duty of the nurse to take care that her nursling sustained no injury from incantation (*ἐπηλυσίη*), nor from any plant of magic power. She must know healing roots

* Hom. Il. xi. 270; xix. 119.

(*ἀντίτομα*) of greater efficacy than any of those noxious herbs (*οὐλότομα*), whose preternatural effects were in great measure produced by the art of culling the plant with its root (*ῥιζοτομεῖν βοτάνας*). Coagulated milk, wine, and honey, is the diet with which Aphrodite nourishes the daughters of Pandareus.* Milk and honey, too, are the food of the new-born Zeus in Crete. Little infants were carried next the bosom, under the folds of the garment (*ὑπὸ κόλπῳ*), which was confined round the waist by the girdle. The warm touch was justly esteemed beneficial. Bigger children were carried in the arms (*ἐπὶ κόλπῳ*). The wages of careful nursing† were paid by the parents or by the children; and gratitude raised the tender and watchful nurse to the station of director of the household affairs, inspector and teacher of the maidens, and granted her the privilege of making ready the couch of the master. The Greeks had a word to express the negligence of nurses, *ἀφραδίη*, at a later period, *κακοφραδίη*.

The later training of the boy was committed to men; as that of Achilles to Phœnix. A happy child, who lived under the watchful eye of his mother, above all under the sheltering guardianship of his father, was *ἀμφιθαλής*.

> ——— *ὅς πρὶν μὲν ἑοῦ ἐπὶ γούνασι πατρὸς*
> *μυελὸν οἷον ἔδεσκε, καὶ οἰῶν πίονα δημόν·*
> *αὐτὰρ ὅθ' ὕπνος ἕλοι, παύσαιτό τε νηπιαχεύων,*
> *εὕδεσκ' ἐν λέκτροισιν, ἐν ἀγκαλίδεσσι τιθήνης,*
> *εὐνῇ ἐνὶ μαλακῇ, θαλίων ἐμπλησάμενος κῆρ·*
> *νῦν δ' ἂν πολλὰ πάθῃσι, φίλου ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀμαρτών.*
>
> Il. xxii. 500.

* Od. xx. 68.

† Homer, *θρέπτρα*; in the Hymn to Ceres, *θρεπτήρια*.

But the child's only security for the continuance of these joyous days of infancy lay in the life and the power of his father;—pitiable was the fate of the orphan.

———ἄλλοι γάρ οἱ ἀπουρίσσουσιν ἀρούρας.
ἦμαρ δ' ὀψὲ γάνυται παναφήλικα παῖδα τίθησι,
πάντα δ' ἀπειμήμυκε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί.
δευόμενος δέ τ' ἄνεισι πάϊς ἐς πατρὸς ἑταίρους,
ἄλλον μὲν χλαίνης ἐρύων, ἄλλον δὲ χιτῶνος·
τῶν δ' ἐλεησάντων κοτύλην τις τυτθὸν ἔπεσχε,
χείλεα μὲν τ' ἐδίην' ὑπερώην δ' οὐκ ἐδίηνε·
τὸν δὲ καὶ ἀμφιθαλὴς ἐκ δαιτύος ἐστυφέλιξε
χερσὶν πεπληγώς, καὶ ὀνειδείοισιν ἐνίσσων,
ἔρρ' οὕτως· οὐ σός γε πατὴρ μεταδαίνυται ἡμῖν·
δακρύοις δέ τ' ἄνεισι πάϊς ἐς μητέρα χήρην, κ. τ. λ.
Il. xxii. 489.

Happier he whose father lived to afford a model to his unfolding powers, and to train him in his ripening years, "to be eloquent in discourse and strenuous in deed," as Phœnix trained Achilles. Hunting, running, leaping, wrestling, and boxing, formed the discipline of the future warrior. Another part of his education was the knowledge of medicinal herbs (*φάρμακον*), and of the treatment of wounds, in which we find Achilles instructed by Chiron, the most virtuous (*δικαιότατος*) of Centaurs*. Homer tells of no other instruction given to his hero by Chiron, around whom later traditions assembled the most illustrious chiefs and warriors, as in a school of chivalry.

Unmarried youths, in the flower of their age, loved to repair to the circling dance in freshly-washed garments. A dance of this kind, executed with all

* Il. xi. 831.

the dexterity of the most skilful and vigorous youth, is described by the author of the Odyssey, during the visit of Odysseus to the king of the Phæacians.* While one youth hurls the purple ball into the air and another catches it in the dance, others again clap their hands with open palm, probably thus beating the measure, which was reduced to a regular art among the Greeks; although, according to the explanation Eustathius gives of the words κοῦροι δ' ἐπιλήκεον ἄλλοι, they appear to denote only the beating with the fore finger of the one hand (λίχανος) on the palm of the other.

At the time we are speaking of, that systematic art of clapping (κροτοθόρυβος) which, in a later age, was brought to a sort of perfection at the Greek theatre, could hardly be supposed to exist.

Playing on the cithara, or lute, was one of the accomplishments of heroic youth. Thus Achilles sings to the tuneful strings the deeds of illustrious men.† This was a kind of mental medicine; for the voice and the lute, blended as he blended them, have a magic power to captivate and subdue the spirit. The luxurious suitors of Penelope seek to amuse and please her, after their fashion, with playing at quoits before the door of her house.‡

Occupations of young women.

Young women in the bloom of youth (ἥβης ἄνθος according to Homer, κουρήϊον ἄνθος ἔχουσαι in the Homerides, that is, in mature but yet virgin beauty) lived in the interior of the house with their mothers, busied about the household

* Od. viii. 370. † Il. ix. 186.

‡ Od. iv. 625.

affairs; as in the instance of Nausicaa, and the daughters of Celeus in the Homeric hymn to Ceres. It was their task to fetch water for the house in bright brazen pitchers (κάλπις, a vessel wide at the bottom and narrow at the top, with a handle); sometimes even to unharness the horses and mules from the chariots and waggons; but above all to superintend the washing of the linen; for white and delicately-washed linen caused the virgins to be held in high esteem, and attracted suitors, who would otherwise look for riches and noble lineage. But the busy gossip of the multitude warned the maiden to retired and discreet manners; for even then the tongue of scandal was busy: *μάλα δ' εἰσὶν ὑπερφίαλοι κατὰ δῆμον.*

To associate with a man in secret, without the consent of parents, or the solemn rites of marriage, was disgraceful to a noble maiden.* Marriage. Marriage, to be lawful, must be contracted under the direction, or at least with the consent, of parents, as we find from the expressions of Briseis in her lament over Patroclus; or from the refusal of Achilles to marry the daughter of Agamemnon, without the consent of Peleus.† The primitive custom of the purchase of the bride by the bridegroom, who prevailed in his suit by the weight of his gifts (ἑέεσσι βρίσας), had been so far softened and refined in the Homeric age, that the wishes of the daughter were consulted. When Penelope puts off her suitors under ingenious pretexts, Antinous urges Telemachus to send home his mother, and to command her to unite her-

* Od. vi. 285. † Il. ix.

self to him whom her father approved and she preferred.*

The desire of Alcinous, too, to have Odysseus as a son-in-law, seems expressed not without a reference to the inclinations of his daughter, who tells Odysseus at parting not to forget her.† On the other hand, when the alliance was peculiarly desired by the father, he gave his daughter a rich dowry,—houses and lands, sometimes even towns. The word for this is ὀπάζειν and μείλια; or προῖξ, the name of the dower.

Degrees of consanguinity, forbidden in marriage, seem to have been little thought of in the Homeric age. The union between parents and children, like that between Œdipus and Iocasta,‡ alone seems to have provoked the vengeance of the gods, who, indeed, set the example of marriage between brothers and sisters. Following the precedent of Zeus and Here, Æolus, a friend of the immortal Gods, whose palace was the abode of six lovely daughters and six blooming sons, united those sons and daughters in marriage. Iphidamas was married to his mother's sister, by his grandfather (μητροπάτωρ) Cisseus. So Diomedes married Ægialea, the sister of his mother, Deipyle. On the other hand, Alcinous took to wife the noble Arete, the only daughter of his brother Rhexenor, who died young.

We find in Homer the simple rudiments of those splendid and elaborate nuptial ceremonies of later

* Od. ii. 113.

Μητέρα σὴν ἀπόπεμψον. ἄνωχθι δέ μιν γαμέεσθαι
Τῷ, ὅτίῳ τε πατὴρ κέλεται, καὶ ἀνδάνει αὐτῇ.

† Od. viii. 461. ‡ In Homer, Epicasta.

times, which the refined and polished humanity of Greece elevated to a solemn act of consecration. In short, the leading home of the bride* in procession, veiled to the waist (κρήδεμνον,† which a scholiast explains by ὠμοφόριον), from the paternal house to the one prepared for her reception (a ceremony which the premature death of Protesilaus caused him to leave unperformed), is still customary. Mention is expressly made in Hesiod of the carriage which was used on this solemn occasion; for driving in chariots is characteristic of the heroic age, and is appropriate either to high festivals and solemnities, or to great distances. Torches were carried by the side: the passage leaves it doubtful whether this denotes that the ceremony took place by night, or whether torches were borne in triumphant procession even by day. A joyful marriage-song was sung as the bridal train moved along (ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει)—a *hymn*, in short; for even the older Greeks point out the etymological relation between Hymenæus and the Hymn. Flutes and harps resounded; but as song was never without the accompaniment of the measured step beating the cadence, the dance (ὀρχηθμὸς) and dancers (ὀρχηστῆρες) were a necessary appendage to the festival. The flutes, however, were clearly of Phrygian extraction, and were connected with oriental manners. The observations of the scholiasts on Iliad xviii. 495, expressly tell us that the flute‡ was unknown to the

* νύμφη, i. e. νύφη, which has been derived from νύβω, *nubo*, *obtego*.

† Il. xxii. 470.

‡ αὐλὸς, not σύριγξ, the invention of the Arcadian shepherds.

Greeks. Learned inquirers have, therefore, endeavoured to trace in this stately pageant a copy of that festival with which the nuptials of the great patroness of marriage, Juno,* was yearly celebrated at Samos. They thought this position the more tenable, because Samian female flute-players were indispensable at the marriages of later times. How essential song and dance were to nuptial feasts, is clear from Odysseus' command, that, in order to deceive the Ithacans, there should be dance and song in the palace after the massacre of the suitors, as if a nuptial feast were celebrated.

Nor was a jovial repast less essential, and *δαίειν γάμον*, *δαίνυσθαι γάμον*, to give a wedding banquet, is the common Homeric expression. Before the espousals the bride was conducted to the bath, after which she was dressed in a garment presented by the bridegroom. Thus, in the passage above quoted, Odysseus bade all the maidens bathe and adorn themselves (*εἴμαθ' ἑλέσθαι*).

Athene's injunction to Nausicaa shows that the dresses of the bridesmen were presents from the bride. When at length the guardian of the nuptial chamber (*θαλαμηπόλος*) had conducted the espoused pair, with a train of torches, to the couch spread with carpets and rich coverings, she retired, and the bridegroom, to whom the propitious Aphrodite had given the heart of his mistress, loosed her girdle, as Poseidon did that of Tyro. The custom of greeting them with the epithalamian songs and shouts was of later origin.

Second marriage was deemed contrary to the laws of modesty. A woman secured public respect by

* Il. xiv. 305.

faithful attachment to the husband of her youth. When Penelope, pressed by her father and her brothers, is near making choice of Eurymachus, Pallas warns Telemachus to return home.*

Οἶσθα γὰρ οἷος θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γυναικός.
Κείνου βούλεται οἶκον ὀφέλλειν ὅς κεν ὀπυίοι,
Παίδων δὲ προτέρων καὶ κουριδίοιο φίλοιο
Οὐκέτι μέμνηται τεθνηότος, οὐδὲ μεταλλᾷ.

It is probable that grown-up children sometimes determined the conduct of the widow; for the paternal inheritance descended to them, she only receiving back the portion she had brought. Telemachus wishes his mother out of the house, that he may be rid of the suitors,† who squander his patrimony. But he is restrained from sending her back to Icarius, by the difficulty of paying back her dowry. Sometimes the wishes of the first husband decided the wife on a second marriage when the children were grown up.‡

The divine vengeance overtook the man who seduced or coveted the wife of another, as Ægisthus, who, contrary to the will of fate (ὑπὲρ μόρον), espoused the wife of Agamemnon,§ and murdered him on his return. This is the solemn denunciation of Pallas—

Καὶ λίην κεῖνός γε ἐοικότι κεῖται ὀλέθρῳ·
Ὣς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος, ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

Even the dishonour of a concubine (παλλακίς) was avenged by the Erinnyes‖; and a punishment known

* Od. xv. 21. † Od. xix. 527.
‡ Od. xviii. 269. § Od. i. 36.
‖ Il. ix. 454.

to the earliest records of the East, and represented on the elder Greek works of art (on the Phigalian bas-reliefs, for instance),—interment under a heap of stones, so that only the head was left exposed,—appears to be the common chastisement of ravishers. Hector, in his indignation against Paris,* exclaims—

ἀλλὰ μάλα Τρῶες δειδήμονες· ἦ τέ κεν ἤδη
λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα, κακῶν ἕνεχ', ὅσσα ἔοργας.

Adultery was punished by fine, μοιχάγρια or χρεῖος.† The injured husband demanded restitution of all the presents he had given to the father of his wife. It was a duty (αἴσιμον) to make this atonement.

Adultery.

The rude turbulence of passion was somewhat kept in check by the universal custom which rendered it allowable to have concubines, who were occupied in weaving and other household works, and either prepared or partook of the master's couch.‡ Married couples, who had given up all hope of offspring, took a concubine into the house—witness Menelaus.§ Yet the Greeks were reluctant to irritate the jealous rage of their wives by the introduction of such a companion.‖ The less civilized manners of the Trojans allowed greater licence.¶ It even appears that a plurality of wives was permitted. It is at least clear that Priam was actually married to other wives beside Hecuba, and that they were princes' daughters. Their dowry is spoken of**. Children of such a union are desig-

Concubinage.

* Il. iii. 39.
† Od. viii. 332. 335.
‡ Il. i. 31; ix. 660.
§ Od. iv. 11.
‖ Od. i. 443.
¶ Il. xxiv. 495.
** Il. xxiv. 495.

nated as *νόθοι*, and contrasted with the *γνήσιοι*.* They, however, had the same education, and each inherited a part of the patrimony.†

These concubines were frequently women who had been taken prisoners in war, or bought;—of course slaves (*δμῶες*).

It was customary to sell prisoners, who were taken uninjured, to some distant country— (*περᾶν*, and in the other form *πέρνασθαι*; the purchase-money is called by Homer *ὦνος*, by the Homerides *τιμή*.) Very frequently, however, these slaves were not taken in open warfare, but were kidnapped and carried off by pirates. The story of Eumæus is an illustration of this.‡ Phœnician pirates, Slaves.

τρῶκται, μυρί' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηΐ μελαίνῃ,

and Taphian robbers, are there described as traders in men, whom they enticed away from their companions by stratagems. The contempt which the Greeks entertained for the later Carians had caused the verse Il. ix. 378 to be commonly applied to them; as if they had set the example of trading in slaves; but Heyne's elaborate investigation proves that this is an error, contradicted even by the metre.

The condition of the slaves was extremely hard. Oppressive toil for an inexorable master,§ and, on any complaint made of them, the most cruel death‖ from his hand, was the lot even of the female slaves.¶ The fury of the masters sometimes did not even disdain the barbarity of mu- Condition of slaves and servants.

* Il. xi. 102. † Il. v. 68; viii. 284; and Od. xiv. 210.
‡ Od. xv. 414. § Il. xxiv. 731.
‖ Od. xxii. 475. ¶ Od. xviii. 339.

tilation (as, for instance, cutting off the ears).* If the commentators on xxii. 426 of the Odyssey are right, a distinction was made between an honourable death (καθαρὸς θάνατος) and a dishonourable; for instance, by the halter, which was the lot of slaves. As in countries where slavery still exists, however, the young female slaves were often indulged and caressed.

Day-labourers (θῆτες)† were protected by the laws of hospitality. They received good wages, clothing, and food; in return for which we find them planting trees, and bringing in thorns and fire-wood. Gardens at a distance from the house were committed to their management.

Death.

But before we proceed further in our inquiries into the several occupations allotted to individuals as members of a household, there remains one more point of his merely human estate, which, after birth and the sacrament of marriage, is wanting to complete the picture;—his departure from life.

Funeral rites.

The honour paid to the dead was a proof of that advanced and humane civilization which generally distinguished the age of Homer. To utter no wailings after the dead, to throw no clod of earth into their graves, kindled the vengeance of the Gods.‡ No duty, however, seemed more urgent than to divest the lifeless body of that terrible appearance from which every mortal heart recoils, when it remains with unclosed eyes and open mouth. It was not till both were closed, that the body could become a sub-

* Il. xxi. 455. † Od. iv. 644; xviii. 356.

‡ Od. xi. 72.

ject of religious rites, and this sacred duty, therefore, devolved on the hand of love. To hang over the bed of her husband with sobs and lamentations—to receive the last pressure of his hand—the last word to his survivors—and when all was past, to close his eyes, beseemed a wife, for thus did she do honour (γέρας) to the dead.* It was a religious observance to clasp the head of the departed during the lament.

The body, after being washed with warm water, was anointed with oil.† If there were any wounds, they were filled with oil nine years old. It was then laid on a carpet, and covered from head to foot with the finest linen.‡ The feet were placed towards the door,§ the only position sanctioned by religion. A shroud (φᾶρος ταφήϊον)‖ was the indispensable apparel of the opulent dead.¶ After the body was thus prepared, the death-wail began,** the solemn form of which is related on occasion of Hector's obsequies, and which still survives in the lament of the Oriental nations.†† It is the ὀλολυγή, the litany of the ὀλολο and the ἀλαλα, with which the men and women mourners answered each other. It was customary to cut off the hair and cast it on the body, as an ornament inconsistent with sorrow. The intensity of grief went still farther in defacing corporeal beauty. They beat their heads,‡‡ tore their hair,§§ strewed

* Od. xxiv. 295; xi. 424: and Il. xi. 452, where Hesychius expressly mentions these last offices of affection.

† Il. xviii. 345; xxiv. 285. ‡ Il. xxiii. 353; Od. ii. 97.

§ Pers. Sat. iii. 103.

‖ Od. ii. 97. ¶ Od. xxiv. 137.

** Il. xxi. 123; Od. xxiv. 294.

†† And in the ullalu of the Irish.—Trans.

‡‡ Il. xxii. 33. §§ Il. xviii. 27.

dust upon their heads; the women tore their cheeks and beat their breasts; they threw themselves on the ground; abstained from the bath and from food; and suicide* was a not unfrequent proof of the grief that knows no bounds. Mourners wore black garments,† and women tore that graceful veil of hair in which mourners are elsewhere wont to shroud themselves. These extreme demonstrations of woe lasted for days; so long, indeed, that they appear to us incompatible with the effects of the climate;‡ for, according to the former passage, the body of Achilles was not burned by his comrades until the eighteenth day, unless, with Heyne,§ we understand this to be a loose way of stating round numbers in general use.

The general prevalency of the custom of burning, which we remark in Homer (for even the people carried off by the plague received thes efuneral rites),‖ has given occasion to the inquiry, whence the Greeks derived it? Böttiger, in a dissertation well worthy of attention,¶ traces its origin to Phœnicia. He refers to the old mythus, which ascribes the introduction of the burning of the dead to Hercules. According to this view of the subject, the body was a sacrifice offered to the gods, and every dead person a type of Hercules. The ἄμβροτα εἵματα, which were thrown over the body of Achilles,**—those godlike vestments which commentators think signify purple robes,—

* Il. xviii. 34; Od. iv. 270.

† Il. xxiv. 93. Hom. Hymn to Ceres, 40.

‡ Od. xxiv. 63, and Il. xxiv. 781. § Note to Il. xxiv. 31.

‖ Il. i. 552. ¶ Kunstmythologie, v. i. p. 26.

** Od. xxiv. 59; in v. 67 they are called ἐσθῆς θεῶν.

seem to confirm this opinion. Sometimes, but rarely, the weapons of the deceased were burned with the body.* The practice of slaughtering slaves before the sacrificial gate of the temple† is clearly not of Hellenic origin. In a later age, Greek piety interposed to put a stop to human sacrifices, even among neighbouring nations; and even in the earliest, whenever they appear, they must be regarded as indications of unhellenic barbarism.

The bier upon which the departed lay was borne to the huge pyre by the nearest kindred and friends. At the front of the solemn train was the dearest of all, holding the head.

The body was laid upon the pile, and was thickly smeared from head to foot with grease, that the operation of the flames might be more rapid; for the same reason, jars of oil and of honey were placed around it. The sacrifice of the animals which had been the favourite of the deceased—his horses and dogs—and then that of the captive slaves, was the office of the chief mourner or performer of the obsequies, whose mournful duty it was not to leave the pile so long as the fire continued to burn, but to quicken the flames with libations of wine, while he called aloud upon the departed. The smouldering ashes were at length extinguished with dark red wine. Then followed the gathering together of the bones by friends and kinsmen. The distinguishing them from the ashes of the wood was attended with continual doubts and uncertainties. Probably the position of

* Od. xx. 74; Il. vi. 418. † Il. xxiii. 171.

the body afforded the best means of making the division.* The ashes of those burned by the side of the pile seemed to have been unheeded; and, indeed, this honour seems to have been paid only to the most distinguished personages. The dead in the house of Odysseus were only buried.†

Achilles folds the bones which were found in double layers of fat, in order to preserve them from decay; if they were corroded or crumbling they seem to have been esteemed less venerable. He then collects them all together in an urn (φιάλη) of gold, which was wrapped round with fine linen and placed in his tent. A verse, which is generally acknowledged to be spurious,‡ calls the urn in which Achilles' ashes were placed ἀμφιφορεὺς, a vase with handles. Whether the urn, containing the ashes of Patroclus, were afterwards deposited in the tumulus, or whether it was kept in Achilles' tent to the time of his death, and then interred, does not clearly appear from Homer. The shade of Patroclus had demanded that they should be united in one receptacle (σορός),§ which, in the succeeding line, is called ἀμφιφορεὺς. Heyne is of opinion that the idea is here confused by the different rhapsodists. It was peculiar to the Trojans to collect the ashes into a box, or casket (λάρναξ),

* Various other means of abridging this pious labour have been collected by Tychsen, in his notes to Quintus Smyrnæus (iii. 720 and 723), with which another essay on the same subject in Beckmann's Literatur der Reisen (ii. 720) may be compared.

† Od. xxiv. 417.

‡ Od. xxiv. 74.

§ Il. xxiii. 91.

which was wrapped in purple cloth and placed in the excavated grave. The word λάρναξ, however, as well as σορός, is one of those of which it is impossible to give the precise signification, since subsequent ages employed several words to denote the same object, which is often rendered by one word (sarcophagus) not in use among the Greeks. The Greeks placed the phiala with the ashes of Patroclus, and the amphoræ with those of Achilles, under a mound of earth heaped up in a circular form. The discovery of tumuli has thrown light upon many doubtful questions; but certainly those which were opened on the plains of Troy were by no means fitted to decide controverted points, in spite of the sanguine expectations of some, and the confident hypotheses of others, with relation to them.

We find, however, that the last honour the Greeks paid to Patroclus was the marking out the circle, ξεμείλια, on which the future mound was to be heaped, in order to perpetuate the memory of the place of the obsequies.* A mound of this sort was called σῆμα; likewise χῶμα, κολώνη, τύμβος. It does not appear that they had any means of recording by inscription the name of the individual. Hector's ashes, preserved in a casket, were lowered into a deep fosse, κάπετος,† which was covered over with large stones heaped on each other. They were afterwards buried in a real grave, over which only earth was piled up in the form of a mound. They thus combined καίειν τε καὶ ϑάπτειν, the *cremare et humare* of the Romans.

* Il. xxiii. 257. † Il. xxiv. 797.

It was usual in Greece to adorn the tumulus with a pillar.* The simpler and more primitive custom was to mark it by a post, with two stones placed leaning against it.† We find but one instance of an attempt to commemorate the occupation of the departed by any type or mark upon the tomb, and that is in the mention of Elpenor's grave. He entreats Odysseus, in the infernal regions, to fix an oar upon his tomb;‡ we afterwards find his injunction complied with.§

Games (ἄγων) and a funeral feast‖ (τάφος), however, were necessary to the consummation and perfection of the burial rites. The former are described in detail in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, where Nestor, while witnessing the games given by Achilles in honour of his friend, mentions those at which he had contended in his youth. The Greek commentators have remarked, that Homer knew no other feasts than these, to which the Scholiast to Iliad xxiii. 630, applies a peculiar and unusual word, ἀνάξιοι ἀγῶνες, because only the chiefs took part in them. These games of the heroic age are there contradistinguished from the sacred ones, ἱεροὶ, στεφανῖται ἀγῶνες. That boxing, πυγμὴ, wrestling, παλὴ, hurling the spear, ἀκοντιστὺς, and running, δρόμος, generally succeeded each other in the same order, is received by some old commentators as a proof of the unity of Homer! Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions these (excepting the hurling of the spear) as the oldest sorts of matches.

* Il. xvii. 434.

† Il. xxiii. 329. ‡ Od. xi. 77.

§ Od. xii. 15. ‖ Il. xxiii. 29.

Thus nearly was the activity of the quick and sensitive spirit allied to that superabundant energy of the bodily powers which craved strong and continual exercise; in whose plenitude lay the honour and renown of man, and in whose cultivation his life was spent.

Chapter IV.

Simple and natural life of the Greeks—Life of the women—Domestic architecture—The bath—Visits of Greek ladies—Courtesies of reception—Phœnician pedlars—Occupations of the ladies—Weaving—Washing—Occupations of female servants—Female attire—Dress and ornaments of Here—Of Calypso—Full dress of a Homeric princess—Male attire—Dress of Agamemnon as chief and as warrior—Swords worn constantly—Manner of sitting at feasts—Meat and wine served out in equal portions—Marks of honour to distinguished guests—Solemn festivals.

The Greek approached more nearly to the eternal simplicity of nature, not only in his relations to society, but in his purely human character. Without any systematic plan, from the concurrent influence of various circumstances, life had taken the impress stamped upon it by causes purely natural, and lying in the very primary conditions of human existence.

Out of the family and the union of families, the civil and political constitution,—the State, in one word—gradually unfolded itself; in the further improvement of which, reflection and steady adherence to a single point had, indeed, a greater or less influence: while this perfectly natural and self-dependent developement was either retarded or modified by the intermixture of foreign ingredients, or by foreign encroachment or contact.

Life and manners of the women.

Natural manners and habits display themselves in all their genuineness in the interior of the household,—in the life of the women, which stands in strong contrast to the active employment and supreme control of the men. Quitting the apartment of the women, we shall repair to the

assemblies of the men on the tumultuous battle-field, and then to the piacular sacrifice. The whole cycle of the Homeric life will thus best unfold itself before our eyes.

Domestic architecture.

The occupations of the mistress of the family lay in the inmost part of the house. Hence, a glance at the ancient uniform architecture of the houses of the higher orders, which Homer has unfortunately assumed as known, is absolutely necessary to the understanding of their domestic life.*

Generally speaking, every house of the richer sort was distributed into several main parts or divisions. First, the farm-yard, around which were the stalls for the cattle, &c.; then a paved middle court, which was also a sort of fore-court, and in which there was often a fountain. This was surrounded by the rooms for the guests, the chambers of the unmarried men, and the store-rooms, and in the centre stood the altar of Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος, protector of inclosures.

Out of this court there was a flight of steps, and then a vestibule or passage, leading into the hall of the men, which was more in the interior. The floor was plaster or cement, hard-trodden down. At the extreme end, separated again by another flight of steps from this hall, was the women's apartment, at the door of which Penelope showed herself when she spoke with the revelling suitors: on the threshold of which Metanira, the wife of Celeus,† is sitting with her child when she receives the goddess. This part

* Much that was obscure has been made more clear to us by J. H. Voss's laborious researches, and by the plan of the house or palace of Odysseus, which he annexed to his translation of Homer.

† Hymn to Ceres.

of the house, which was accessible only to the women and their kinsmen, was the scene of the whole existence of the former. Private dark store-rooms, and the μυχὸς θαλάμων, the nuptial chamber, formed a part of it. A side court, which was a thoroughfare, and was accessible from the passage to the great hall of the men, served as a passage to the interior of the house, without approaching the apartments of the guests. From this court also a flight of steps led to the upper chambers of the master. Another court within this, adjoining the women's apartments, and enclosed from all others, was exclusively devoted to their use, and adorned with trees and shrubs; steps led from it to the upper apartments, ὑπερῷα, in which the women carried on their employments of weaving and spinning, and other household works.

The larger rooms, such as the men's hall, had roofs with large beams running across and resting on pillars on either side; domed ceilings were as yet unknown. Wainscoting with inlaid work (often, as in Menelaus's house, of costly materials) covered the walls and the spaces between the beams. Plates of metal fixed on the wainscot, traces of which were found in the Treasury of Atreus, and the rare magnificence of many coloured marbles which travellers have met with in the oldest buildings, afford us some explanation of the astonishment which seized Telemachus in the palace of Menelaus.*

The main beam, which ran from end to end along the larger rooms and supported the centre of the transverse beams, the ends of which rested on the pillars, was called μέλαθρον, from the blackness it

* Od. iv. 72.

contracted from the smoke which issued through the centre of the roof or through the grated windows. For the same reason the Romans called their ante-room, or entrance hall, *atrium*. The later Grecks also used μέλαθρον for dwelling, as the Romans did *tectum*.

Hearths of masonry (ἐσχάραι) served to warm and to light the sitting rooms. In the hall of entertainment portable lamps were placed.* The space in front of every house, of every door, whether in the open air or forming a part of the dwelling, is called by Homer, πρόθυρον, πρόδομος. Here the chariots or carts drew up, and here a number of household affairs were carried on. It is remarkable that, according to Voss's acceptation,† Nausicaa inhabited a room immediately adjoining the second fore-court; and that, consequently, in the Homeric age, there was as yet no thought of those vigilant precautions which are the certain indications of depravity—locked up apartments in which the young maidens of a later and more corrupt age were guarded. Women were not forbidden, by the manners of that time, to show themselves to men, though it was thought decorous to appear attended by female slaves; as we find in the passage in which Penelope, the model of all womanly grace and dignity, first appears before us when she hears the song of Phemius;‡ and again, when she brings the bow of Ulysses.§ Even noble virgins were suffered to go abroad without escort; as, for instance, the daughters of Celeus. Nausicaa, too, drives to the fountain with the linen without any

* λαμπτῆρες. Od. xviii. 306. Od. i. 333.

† Derived from Od. vi. 15.

‡ Od. xxi. 64.

male protector.* Helen forms the exception to the general rule, when she goes with Deiphobus, a stranger, to look at the fatal horse, the destruction of Troy.†

The Bath.

Voss also includes the guests' bath-room in the division of the first court. Here princely virgins did not disdain to perform for the youthful stranger the offices of the bath, and of the anointing which followed it.‡ It is from the hands of Helen herself that the disguised Odysseus receives these services.§

The bath-room appropriated to the women and children, however, must be sought in the interior of the house, as appears from the hymn to Demeter, where the child is immediately put into the warm bath in the thalamus itself.‖ In the Iliad, too, Hector appears to take a bath in the interior of the house.¶ Bathing and anointing formed a part of the recreations of the retired and quiet apartments of the women; as they still do in the regions where Homer's song first resounded. The strengthening bath in the sea or in rivers was followed by a bath for cleanliness in a tub;** and the only superior privilege enjoyed by the immortal gods seems to have been the ambrosial oil with which the goddesses heightened their charms after the bath;†† and which was thence itself called κάλλος,‡‡ or beauty-ointment. In all other respects they shared this refreshment with mortals. Noble women, thus bathed and perfumed,

* Od. vi. 77. † Od. iv. 276. ‡ Od. iii. 464.
§ Od. iv. 252. ‖ v. 286—288.
¶ Il. xxii. 444. ** Il. x. 576. †† Od. viii. 365.
‡‡ Od. xviii. 191.

were also accustomed to put on fragrant garments.*

A more rare amusement in the solitude and monotony of the women's apartments was afforded by visits.† These were received with nearly the same formalities as we find recorded in the Old Testament. The whole ceremonial of reception is best described in the passage where Thetis enters the Gynæceum of Hephæstos.‡ To advance to meet the visiter, and to put out the hand (in the case of an inferior or dependent a kiss on the head and hand was added to this greeting, and was affectionately returned);§ words of gracious and flattering welcome; a prayer to be seated on a magnificent couch (κλισμός or κλισίη); which was often inlaid with silver and ivory, and before which was placed a footstool (ξρῆνυς); are the almost invariably recurring demonstrations of courtesy in the Homeric age. Supplicants thought it seemly to decline the stately magnificence of the couch, which was sometimes covered with rich carpets. Thus Demeter, in the hymn to Ceres, reposes on a chair covered with the fleece of a sheep (ἔδος, δίφρος). It was also the custom for the host to lead the way.‖ Visits.

To offer refreshment—a cup of wine (among the immortals ambrosia and nectar, as in Calypso's reception of Mercury), or at least a nourishing dish of polenta, made of meal and water,¶—was one of the

* Il. iii. 35. † Od. iv. 797. Il. vi. 245.
‡ Il. xviii. 369. § Od. xvi. 15; xxi. 224.
‖ Od. i. 125, Telemachus receiving Pallas.
¶ Homer, Hymn to Demeter, v. 206.

attentions with which the rights of hospitality (ξείνια) were honoured.

Another interruption to the monotony of female life was occasioned by the chance visit of a Phœnician merchant, who was admitted into the women's apartments to display his caskets of jewellery;* for even the majestic Heré scorns not the aid of dress and ornament when she wishes to captivate the Thunderer.

Phœnician pe dlers.

The rest of the women's time, in the every-day course of affairs, was spent in the ordinary employment of their sex, weaving (in which, even anterior to Homer, they had attained to the refinement of executing elaborate patterns); and in attendance on the children.†

Throwing the ball in a circle; running races on coming out of the streams in which they had washed the linen; gathering flowers and sporting over beautiful meads,—amusements which were graceful in young maidens,—no longer beseemed the matron. Hers was the praise of noble stature and polished mind; of dignified manners, and skilful works.‡ To rule amidst her women and maidens; to converse with them and take pleasure in their merriment;§ or, like Helen, to listen attentively to the discourse of a guest, or skilfully to prepare medicaments for his wounds or his illness; such was the vocation of the mistress, who rarely left her household to the guidance of servants.

* Od. xv. 459. Gold necklace with amber studs.
† Od. vii. 110.
Il. i. 115. § Od. xviii. 315.

The labour of the female servants was very severe. Early in the morning their daily toil began with lighting the fire on the hearth.* They then sprinkled and swept the hall; spread carpets over the couches or benches, and scoured the tables with sponges. Some washed the jugs and cups, others fetched water, while the slaves cleft the wood.† Some, meanwhile, were at work with their mistress at the loom, while others prepared the morning meal for the guests. Before the latter partook of it, however, they used the bath; and it was the women's province to wash, anoint, and dress them. At the repast, a serving woman carried round water in a golden vase; she placed a silver basin on the polished table, over which the guests held their hands, while she poured water upon them.

Condition of slaves and servants.

The meats which had been prepared by the cooks‡ were distributed by the carvers (δαιτροὶ); while the housekeeper, or stewardess, and the maids, handed round bread in wicker baskets, and the herald poured out the wine. In the evening, some were employed in keeping up the fires;§ for, if they were suffered to go out, they were rekindled with difficulty.‖ The women whose business it was to tend the fires whiled away the hours with gossip.¶ Euryclea, the faithful nurse of Ulysses, attends Telemachus to his couch,** arranges the folds of the garments he takes off, hangs them on a peg by the bed side, and, after seeing him composed to rest, bolts and locks him

* Od. xx. 123.

† Their occupations are nearly all to be found in Od. xv. 321.

‡ δαιτροὶ. Od. iv. 621. § Od. xviii. 312; xix. 54.

‖ Od. v. 488. ¶ γυναῖκες καμιναὶ. Od. xviii. 27. ** Od. i. 428.

into his room. After the evening meal, the maids* cleared the tables, and when the guests had all retired, they too were allowed to rest.

Not till late in the night, however, was there any cessation of toil for the women whose hard office it was to grind the wheat and the barley in the hand mill.† How many a complaint of these over-wrought beings, whom the morning surprised at their wretched drudgery, has been echoed to our ears by the voice of the poets!

Such was the life of the women; of the mistresses, and of the slaves; among whom we may also reckon the hired servants.

Dress of the women.

But we cannot quit the female territory without a glance at the dress and the ornaments by the aid of which its fair rulers hoped to please. The dress even of the mother of the gods, when she seeks to captivate Zeus, is very simple, and we can only trace, in Homer, the beginnings of those cosmetics which the art of a later age multiplied to infinity. Around her freshly bathed and spotless body, Heré throws a fine garment, which was fastened only at the breast (κατὰ στῆθος), with golden clasps (περονᾶτο).‡ The name of the garment (ἑανὸς) must be elucidated by πέπλος, as in most cases it is only an adjective; and the verb ἕσατο, like the Latin *amicire*, shows that we must by no means understand it to mean putting on clothes in our sense of the word; but merely throwing or wrapping the vestment around the body. The names

* Od. vii. 230. † Od. xx. 118.

‡ Il. xiv. 178.

which Homer employs for articles of female dress are so capriciously varied, that it is sometimes difficult to understand what he means. The simplicity of their form, which differed little from that of the men's, rendered such mistakes of easy occurrence. The chiton, the most frequently named female garment, is generally understood to be the under garment, reaching to the feet,* which was worn next the skin, like the *tunica* of the later Romans. The more common expression, however, for this article of clothing was peplos, πέπλος (later, πέπλον), which, in Homer, signifies any covering whatever; but, at the time when two body garments were worn, was used for the upper one. Hence, therefore, a complete dress, especially that of women, was called πέπλοι in the plural. The chiton was the more convenient dress for the house. The peplos was the garment for state occasions and times of peace, and was consequently adorned with embroidery, the work of Sidonian women.† The Trojan women wore it with deep falling hems. Agreeably with this distinction, Homer says,‡ that Pallas threw off the upper garment, the peplos, and put on (ἐνδύειν) the chiton, when she armed herself with the weapons given her by Zeus.

All these vestments, including also the φᾶρος of Calypso,§ were shawl-like draperies of woollen cloth, without any regular cut, and held together only by brooches or clasps (ποῤπαὶ, περονὰι), or by the

* Od. xix. 242. χιτῶν τετμημένος.

† Il. vi. 289.

‡ Il. viii. 384, compare with v. 734.

§ Od. v. 230.

girdle (ζώνη).* This Calypso binds round her, just above the hips; whereas the magic zone of Venus (κεστός) was worn close under the breast; according to Heyne, on the outside of the garment; according to Voss, next the skin (ἐν κόλπῳ).† In the scene where Heré summons to her aid every art of the toilet, one of her ornaments is a veil (κρήδεμνον) radiant as sunbeams, laid over the braids of hair which fell from the top of her head. According to several passages which are best collated by Hr. von Köhler,‡ we ought to consider this credemnon as a cloth which might either be drawn like a veil before the face, or folded together and twisted around the brow, not very unlike the simpler sort of turban of the eastern women. The head-dress of the Trojan women § was more complicated, though essentially the same as the credemnon, which was merely used to bind the hair together.

What Homer means by the ampyx (ἄμπυξ); by the kekryphalon; the plaited band of hair (πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη); and what were the precise differences between these various head-dresses, we can only guess from the figures on vases and coins. The two latter were probably nets for the hair, or caps of the Phrygian form.‖

Ear-rings in the form of olives or of mulberries (μορόεντα from μόρον); ¶ armlets (ἕλικες) twisted

* Od. v. 231. † Il. xiv. 223.

‡ Description d'une Améthyste du Cabinet des Pierres gravées de S. M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, p. 37.

§ Il. xxii. 468.

‖ Millingen, anc. unedit. Mon. Vases, pl. 32.

¶ Heyne on Il. xiv. 183.

around the arm like snakes;* brooches or clasps (πόρπαι, περόναι), which, according to Hesiod, were wrought like the handle of a shield, and were fastened with a double tube;† rosettes (κάλυκες),‡ which were probably stuck on the dress; necklaces or collars (ὅρμοι); and splendid sandals with very strong soles, which were an indispensable part of every dress worn on public or state occasions; constitute the main ingredients of the state costume, which gave the last grace and dignity to an Homeric princess. An actual representation of this "full dress" (to borrow an expression from the English world of fashion) may be seen in a figure copied from a vase in James Millingen's *Peintures antiques et inédites de Vases Grecs*, p. 41, which it will be interesting to compare with the description.

The occasions on which such a dress was worn were, the visits of female friends; the festival of a god,§ which caused a suspension of the usual business; or a banquet at which women were permitted to appear; as, for instance, the wedding feast of Menelaus.‖

Several of the garments we have described formed part of the clothing of the men as well as of the women. The men wore the chiton, a woollen shirt without sleeves; over this, however, as a defence against the cold, was worn the læna, χλαῖνα,¶

Dress of the men.

* Apollonius, explanation of Il. xviii. 401.

† Od. xix. 207.

‡ Homer, Hymn to Ceres, 428.

§ Od. xxi. 259.

‖ Il. i. 424, and Od. x. 61.

¶ The etymology is to be traced to λᾶνος, χλᾶνος, *wool*, not to χλαίνω, *I warm*.

a square piece of cloth, sometimes with the corners rounded off, which was passed over the left shoulder, then brought under the right arm, and the corner again thrown over the left shoulder. The value of such a cloak* (so Voss translates χλαῖνα, the later Greek word was ἱμάτιον) was fully appreciated by those who had to face the winter's cold with only a chiton,—the οἰοχίτωνες,—for in the night it also served as a covering.

But in the season when the beasts with chattering teeth seek a shelter from the cold, and man, like a crippled tripod, totters before the drifting snow,† even this is not enough for the warmth-desiring shepherd; but over the læna he puts a cloak of goat skins, sewed together with leather thongs, as a defence against rain or frost.‡ Only old men, like Laertes, had sleeves to the chiton, which came quite over the hand.§ Nor must we fall into the mistake of imagining the læna a double garment where it is mentioned as διπλῆ,‖ as contrasted with ἁπλόϊς.¶ It was single, but thrown twice over the shoulder, where it was fastened with a brooch.

The chiton was never put off. Agamemnon only throws over it an ample covering or mantle,** and binds on sandals, which were indispensable to the ap-

* The English reader will be struck with the resemblance of the χλαῖνα to the Scottish plaid, both in form and application.—Transl.

† Hesiod; Works and Days, 527. ‡ Il. xvi. 224.

§ χειρῖδες. Od. xxiv. 229, not gloves, at Böttiger shows. Amalthea, i. p. 172.

‖ Il. x. 133; Od. xix. 225. ¶ Il. xxiv. 230.

** φᾶρος. Il. ii. 43, whence the Latin *pallium*.

pearing with dignity, even if they were not required for walking, or as a defence against the weather. With these and his sword and sceptre, he is dressed and accoutred as beseems the sovereign chief of assembled princes. On other occasions the lion's skin was substituted for the pharos, and the spear for the royal sceptre.*

Even in peaceful assemblies, however, the Homeric hero wore his sword, which hung by a belt from the shoulder to the hip. For the sword is honourable. No beggar may wear it.† It graces the free man and his guest.‡ This explains why the suitors always wore theirs while carousing;§ where the truth of the proverb, that iron attracts man, might be expected to be fatally proved. But, that mischief might not too rapidly follow on the loud brawls of the wine-cup, the heroes of the Homeric age, like the Germans of Tacitus, ate sitting at small separate tables,‖ and were waited on by sprightly young lads, who served out the roasted or boiled meats, and by maidens who handed baskets heaped with bread, in perfectly equal portions, δαὶς ἴσση.¶ Athenæus, who, in the first book of his Banquet, has brought together so much information concerning the Homeric manners, discovers the foundation for this expression, δαὶς ἴσση, which has puzzled all philologists, in the rudeness of primitive times, which would have made the more or less a cause of strife and confusion, had it not been for this precaution of doling out the viands in equal portions.

* Il. x. 21. † Od. xvii. 222. ‡ Od. iv. 309.
§ Od. xxii. 90. ‖ Athenæus Deipn. i. c. 21.
¶ Athenæus on Il. xxi. 362.

The portions were unequal when it was intended to do honour to an illustrious and respected guest. Thus, when Ajax returns to the tent of Atrides from his combat with Hector, an ox is roasted whole, and the king of men helps the hero of the day to the entire chine.* Thus, too, the faithful Eumæus does honour to his lord with the whole chine of a hog.† Like Hebe, and on one occasion Hephæstos, at the celestial tables, heralds and sometimes boys‡ handed about the cups equally filled with dark red wine, mixed with water from the jugs. And it was only as a mark of peculiar deference and courtesy that the cup was filled higher. The cup, as Athenæus infers from the δέχεσθαι δεπάεσσι,§ was passed round to the right, each sipping in turn. Singing to the phorminx‖ and dancing were the condiments of the feast. At length, when it had lasted long enough, the guests gave the signal for breaking up.¶ A remarkable custom is mentioned at the close of the sacrificial feast, which Nestor prepares on the sea-shore.** The tongues of the beasts which have been sacrificed are cut out, and, as we learn from later writers, offered to Hermes; to whom also wine is poured out†† as a means of securing tranquil sleep.

It seems hardly probable, observes Voss,‡‡ that this rite was instituted to Hermes as the god of eloquence; a more probable conjecture is, that Hermes,

* Il. vii. 321. † Od. xiv. 437.

‡ According to Athenæus, v. 19, the sons of nobles, i. e. pages. Compare with Od. xv. 141.

§ Il. iv. 4. ‖ Od. viii. 537. ¶ Od. iv. 297; iii. 334.

** Od. iii. 333. †† Od. vii. 138.

‡‡ On the Peace of Aristophanes, v. 1062.

who was the inventor of the sacrificial art, received this tribute of gratitude for his instructions in the mode of preparing the offerings.*

Solemn festivals often began with breakfast and lasted till the evening, so that the δεῖπνον became likewise a δόρπον.† Originally, δεῖπνον was the morning meal, which, when eaten at break of day, was also called ἄριστον. The evening meal, δόρπον or δόρπος, was eaten at sunset. Δεῖπνον afterwards came to be used as the general name for a feast or banquet, which usually took place in the evening.‡

* Creuzer's Symbolik, p. 366. † Od. iv. 61, 231.
‡ Voss, on the Hymn to Ceres, v. 128.

CHAPTER V.

Warlike character and tastes of the Greeks—Art of war not in existence—Refinement of the Homeric armour—Cretan or Pyrrhic dance—Humanised character of warfare—Ransom—Weapons—Greaves—Cuirass—Kilt—Belts—Sword—Shield—Helmet—Spear—Javelin—Bow and arrows—Sling—Battle-axe—Homer mentions only foot-soldiers and charioteers—Cavalry unknown—Chariot-drivers—Chariots—Irregularity of Homeric warfare—Decided by individual valour—Siege of Troy—Site of that city—The Greek wall—Position of the Greek fleet—Greek camp—Ships—Navigation.

But, however truly and heartily the Homeric Odysseus might express the sentiments of his contemporaries, when he assures the king of the Phæacians,

Ἦτοι μὲν τόδε καλὸν ἀκουέμεν ἐστὶν ἀοιδοῦ
Τοιοῦδ', οἷος ὅδ' ἐστί, θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιος αὐδήν·
Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγέ τι φημὶ τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι,
Ἢ ὅταν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα,
Δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ,
Ἥμενοι ἑξείης· παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι
Σίτου καὶ κρειῶν· μέθυ δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων
Οἰνοχόος φορέῃσι καὶ ἐγχείῃ δεπάεσσι·
Τοῦτο τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἴδεται εἶναι.

Od. ix. 3.

there was yet a higher delight known to this heroic race;

Ἀλκιμος ἔσσ', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπῃ.*

War was the most honourable occupation of a ruler, as arms were his noblest ornament; though agriculture, the breeding and care of cattle, and the chace, were fitting employments for his early youth and his

* Od. iii. 200.

enfeebled age. For whom the gods loved, to him they granted victory and renown in man-honouring (*κυδιάνειρα*) battle. But true valour was inseparable from modesty and a sense of honour;* and the savage love of violence and blood was tamed and moderated by nobler feelings.

The art of war, properly so called, did not as yet come in aid of inferior bodily strength. Combats were still decided by individual prowess; nor was even a swift foot, or a loud voice, without influence on the fame of a hero. The Greeks and the Trojans were removed by no very great interval from the times in which the conquerors ate the conquered in ferocious triumph.† A nobler and more refined sort of armour, which we meet with throughout Homer, as in general use, gave to war a less brutal aspect. Once only we find mention of clubs;‡ somewhat more frequently, of huge masses of rock which were hurled at the foe. Art of war.

In three passages of Homer§ we meet with the word *πυρρίχη* or *πυρρίχις*, by which was signified that Cretan dance, which the introduction of the inflexible and cumbrous iron weapons rendered necessary to the rude brandishers of bludgeons. It was a measured step, which was universally known among the later Spartans as the Pyrrhic. Homer makes no express mention of this dance; but the effects of the constant exercise of muscular strength and agility which he describes among the Greeks of the heroic age, are evident in every picture of a Pyrrhic dance.

* Arist. Ethic. Nicom. iii. 11.

† Compare Il. iv. 35 with Il. ii. 346; xxiv. 212.

‡ Il. vii. 141. § Il. xi. 49; xii. 77; and v. 744.

battle; and the individual results attest the existence of the cause, though it be not specified.

The fight was become more humane, because more regular. The custom of taking ransom* from the conquered who surrendered at discretion, had also mitigated the ill-treatment of prisoners, and valour was sometimes appreciated, even in a foe.†

Weapons.

Hence, a more accurate description of weapons properly comes within the scope of this sketch of Homeric times. In conformity with the custom of the poet, we will see how a warrior attires himself for the field. We shall hope thus best to become acquainted with the subject.

The first piece of armour which he put on when preparing for battle was always the greaves, or leg armour (κνημῖδες) of brass, sometimes of tin, with knee-plates (ἐπισφύρια) of silver. They cased the leg from the knee to the ancle, but were never connected with the sandals or shoes. The cuirass ‡ (θώραξ), which is always represented as brazen, except in one passage, and that a doubtful one, was next put on.§ Two plates of brass, one of which covered the breast and front of the body, the other the back, (called γύαλα,) were fastened together with hooks or rivets, and formed the whole body-armour (κῦτος), which was called στάτος when it could not be pushed together, one part within another. Later writers give us detailed descriptions which prove that plates, or bands of metal, were jointed together, so as not only to be more agreeable to the eye, but to ren-

* Ἀποινά, or ζωάγρια, provided always the prisoner's life was spared.

† Il. vi. 417. ‡ Il. iii. 333. § Il. ii. 529.

der the armour more convenient to put on and to wear. Agamemnon's armour even bears traces of a very advanced state of art.*

Double cuirasses† seem to mean only those made of double plates of metal, which were welded together in patterns, commonly in that of a chess-board. To this body-armour also belongs a kilt (ζῶμα); a sort of petticoat, if you will, which was fastened to the armour itself, and hung to the mid thigh: where the armour pressed upon the body, they wore, probably to avoid friction, a brazen belt lined with wool (μίτρη). This was immediately next the body, which it defended. Lastly, there was a belt or girdle (ζωστῆρ· also called ζώνη), clasping outside the armour, the enamelled ornaments of which are made perfectly clear to us by the fragment of a metope, found at Selinus. This last girdle, and the numerous belts and straps which there were to fasten when the armour was put on, caused the expression, to gird (ζώννυσθαι), to be equivalent with, to arm.

This is most clearly elucidated in Heyne's explanation of Il. iv. 132. Paris puts on the armour we have just described,‡ then grasps the brazen sword, the handle of which is frequently ornamented with silver studs. Its form was simple. Agamemnon wears a dagger as well as a sword. But we may regard it as a mark of the progress humanity had made, that the sword with the sickle blade no longer appears in the list of weapons.

Sword.

Paris then takes the round shield of ox-hide (ἀσπίς§

* Vide Böttiger's Vasengemälde, ii. 76.

† Il. iv. 133; xx. 415. ‡ Il. xi. 15. §§ Il. iii. 329.

πάντοσ' ἔΐση) with which he covers his whole body from the shoulder downwards. Sometimes this shield is of brass, and is then decorated with the most beautiful workmanship. When the shield is not in use, it hangs from the left shoulder by a leathern belt or baldric, (τελαμών). In the fight it was held by two slanting bars or handles (κάνονες), fixed on the inside.* It is not till after the armed warrior had taken his shield, that he put on his helmet,—a sequence which grammarians † have thought fit to pronounce unnatural.

Homer uses κόρυς, κυνέη, πήληξ, as names for the helmet. The first alone of these denotes a bronze covering for the head. Κυνέη signifies a head covering of seal's skin,‡ or of ox hide, or weazel skin.§ Πήληξ is from πῖλος, felt. On the crown of the helmet was something projecting, a boss or plate, which struck the eye by its brilliancy (φάλος, from φάω, φάνος). This was frequently used as an ornament on the part surrounding the head, whence τρίφαλος, τετράφαλος, &c. It was also used for the frontlet or band, to which this φάλος was usually affixed. The τρυφάλεια αὐλῶπις,‖ which has puzzled so many commentators, must be otherwise explained. Its name (from τρύω, *I pierce*, and αὐλῶπις, *eye-holes*) suggests a helmet or casque, with a perforated beaver, which might be lowered to defend the cheeks, while a small plate coming down from the crown of the helmet protected the nose. The eye-holes were in

* Il. viii. 192; xiii. 407.

† Il. iii. 334, with Heyne's Commentary.

‡ Eustath. on the Il. iii. 336. § Il. x. 257 and 335.

‖ Il. xi. 353.

the casque itself. Remains of ancient art, which have been most industriously collected by M. d'Olenin, in a work devoted to that subject,* justify this explanation.

A helmet of the most perfect kind was surrounded by a rim (*στεφάνη*); but this was not indispensable. It was likewise adorned with the crest or bush of hair (*λόφος*), which invariably accompanied the *φάλος*. The helmet was fastened on the head by a thong under the chin (*ἱμάς*), which, from its use, was also called *ὀχεύς*. Storming caps had none of these decorations; they were without crest or device of any kind.†

Lastly, the warrior grasped his lance, generally of ash, with a two-edged point of brass at the one end, and a spike,‡ which was used for fixing the spear in the ground, at the other. This was always the principal weapon of the Greeks, and decided the fate of the battle; whence *δόρυ*, in the tragic poets, came to mean war generally. The warrior generally took two lighter spears, or rather javelins (*ἀκόντια*), with sharpened points (*ἀκή*), as we see on vases. If the spear was used to hurl, *βάλλειν* § was the word; if to thrust, *οὐτάσαι*.

The bow, for lighter warfare, was of horn, sometimes ornamented or plated with gold. The oldest form of this weapon, both the Lycian and the Scythian, is best represented in the relievo on the base of the Dresden candelabrum. The feathered arrows, which were carried in closely shut quivers, had brazen points which were sometimes poisoned.‖ But it were

* Observations sur une note, &c. St. Petersbourg, 1818. 8vo.

† Il. x. 258.

‡ *σαυρωτήρ*. Il. x. 153.

§ Il. iii. 367.

‖ Od. i. 262.

useless to waste words in attempting to give the details of this light arm, which Homer * has delineated with such incomparable accuracy and distinctness.—

——————————βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἄμυνεν.
ἤ ὁὲ τόσον μὲν ἔεργεν ἀπὸ χροὸς, ὡς ὅτε μήτηρ
παιδὸς ἐέργει μυῖαν, ὅθ' ἡδεῖ λέξεται' ὕπνῳ.
αὐτὴ ὁ'αὖτ' ἴθυνεν. ὅθι ζωστῆρος ὀχῆες
χρύσειοι σύνεχον, καὶ ὁιπλόος ἤντετο θώρηξ.
ἐν ὁ' ἔπεσε ζωστῆρι ἀρηρότι πικρὸς ὀϊστός·
διὰ μὲν ἄρ ζωστῆρος ἐλήλατο ὃαιὁαλέοιο,
καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαιὁάλου ἠρήρειστο,
—μίτρης θ', ἣν ἐφόρει ἕρυμα χροὸς, ἕρκος ἀκόντων,
ἣ οἱ πλεῖστον ἔρυτο, διαπρὸ ὁὲ εἴσατο καὶ τῆς,
ἀκρότατον ὁ' ἄρ' ὀϊστὸς ἐπέγραψε χρόα φωτός·
αὐτίκα ὁ' ἔρρεεν αἷμα κελαινεφὲς ἐξ ὠτειλῆς.
Il. iv. 129.

The sling (σφενδόνη), of woollen yarn, was another of the light weapons with which the princes armed their comrades and followers, while they protected themselves with their shields. Sharp darts, used in boarding ships; and the two-edged battle-axe (ἀξίνη εὐχαλκος),† the weapon of the Amazons; and staves tipped with brass for the sea-fight,‡ were all weapons suggested by the heat and press of battle. It is remarkable that, in the passage last cited, Homer alludes to naval warfare, which, in the time of the Trojan war, was as yet unknown. Hence this passage has been pointed out by the Scholiasts as one of those in which the bard engrafted some feature of his own times on an earlier age.

There is another passage § which deserves notice on the same ground; where Hector speaks of four

* Il. iv. 105. † Il. xiii. 612. ‡ Il. xv. 612. § Il. viii. 183.

horses, whereas the other heroes of the Iliad drive only two, or at most have an additional horse running by the side, fastened by a loose rope.* But this circumstance is far from warranting the entire rejection of the passage to which it has led some critics. The line (Od. xiii. 81) may also be suspicious. Homer distinguishes only those who fight on foot, πρυλέες; and ἱππεῖς, those who fight from a chariot. Riding on horseback is mentioned only incidentally;† though, indeed, a feat of horsemanship is accurately described in the Iliad.‡

Continual mention is made of chariot-drivers, who stand by the combatant (παραιβάτης) in the hinder open seat of the low chariot, and whose business it is to urge on the horses with the whip and the voice. The chariots are of costly material and exquisite fabric, sometimes lined with splendid stuffs.§ Ginzrot, in his well known work on the chariots and harness of the Greeks and Romans,‖ has collected all the information on this subject with an industry and ability which entirely exhausts it.

Such are the means with which those wars were carried on, whose memory shall never perish. These, however, may be divided into general engagements and single combats; with regard to which latter there were certain rules or laws for the commencement and conduct of the fight.¶

A Homeric battle is always a rude and inartificial proceeding, the fate of which is decided rather by the

* Παρήορος. Il. xvi. 171; compare with viii. 87.
† Il. xv. 679; Od. v. 371. ‡ Il. xv. 383. § Il. v. 194.
‖ Munich, 1817, vol. iv. ¶ Heyne on Il. iii. 346.

strength of the weapons than by any systematic arrangement. Even the authority of the chief or general was insufficient to convert the collective troops into one compact body, acting with a common consent and object. The disposition of a battle, in the present sense of the word, was as utterly unknown as the modern art of the regular fortification or siege of towns. The whole battle consisted of parties attacking parties. From among these, individuals distinguished themselves by more daring gallantry—by selecting some single antagonist, or by attacking the whole opposed troop.*

Menestheus' close phalanx; Nestor's advice to dispose the troops in better order;† and lastly, another passage in which he exhorts Agamemnon to divide and array his army (after the most ancient civil classification) according to tribes and nations, κατὰ φῦλα καὶ κατὰ φρήτρας,‡ have all been adduced as proofs of the existence of tactics. To these might have been added the example of Polydamas, who commands the Trojans to divide their army into five troops or companies.§ The truth is, however, that none of these measures had any practical influence on the general course and conduct of the war. There could be no idea of taking advantage of the ground where the ἀριστῆες and their chariots invariably decided the fortune of the day. Stratagems, such as hidden reserves and ambushes, even when successful, had no greater effect in advancing the real decision of the contest.

* Il. xiii. 689. † Il. iv. 297. ‡ Il. ii. 362.
§ Il.

For ten years the Greeks besieged Troy, the site of which, even after the most recent laborious and conscientious investigations, is not yet determined; though, with a facility of belief which would have done honour to the Jew Apella, certain modern travellers have not only found Pergamus on the plain of Troas, but have even discovered the ruined walls of Hercules,* although Strabo affirms that there was not a vestige of the old city remaining in his time.† Every thing, however, leads us to conclude that the natural strength of Troy was as inconsiderable, as the artificial; that it was as rude and imperfect as the existing means of attack and defence. For the town which was built by an Æolian colony nearly on the site of Priam's ruined city, yet beyond the reach of the curse which hung over the precise spot, though fortified by Lysimachus and afterwards by Alexander the Great, at a time when the arts of attack and defence had attained to a considerable perfection, was reduced by C. Fimbria, the contemporary of Sylla, in ten days. Heyne infers from this that the long siege under Agamemnon is to be explained only on the supposition, that the Trojans, blockaded on one side alone, did not make any sortie from the city in that direction, till the quarrel between the Greek commander-in-chief and Achilles emboldened them to sally forth and attack the besiegers.

* Il. xi. 45.

† See Spohn de Agro Trojano. Lips. 1804. and more particularly Barker Webb's Inquiries concerning the former and present state of the plain of Troy, translated from the English. Weimar, 1822, p. 32.

Greek wall

This, he conjectures, suggested to the Greeks the thought of a wall around their camp (τεῖχος), with watch towers. It was built of timber, and the interstices filled with earth.* To determine the position of this wall, with reference to its connexion with the fleet, has cost a great expense of time and labour to all commentators, who require from the poet geometrical accuracy instead of poetical truth. Those are better off who have good-natured credulity enough to follow Lechevalier and others who point out the remains; though the bard himself leaves it to be surmised that it was levelled with the ground by the wrath of Neptune, and covered over with sand.†

We find, too, that Demetrius of Skepsis in Troas, who is Strabo's authority, and who wrote thirty books on the sixty lines containing the list of the ships, could point out no trace of this sacred ruin, in his Διάκοσμος Τρωϊκός. But a modern traveller, in the eighteenth century, sees a great many extraordinary things which he, who wrote in the time of Apollodorus, Crates, and Aristarchus, could not descry. The information we obtain from Homer is merely this: that upon the wall were watch-towers, behind the battlements of which (κρόσσαι), the soldiers stood covered. Breastworks of the height of a man (ὀπάλξεις), and projecting buttresses (στήλαι προβλῆται), protected the walls. There was a gateway wide enough for chariots (ἱππηλασία). Commentators who were inattentive to the general use of

* Il. xii. 36. † Il. xii. 13.

the plural form πύλαι in Homer, hence inferred the existence of several gates. Around the wall was a fosse (τάφρος), on the edges or banks of which piles (σκόλοπες) were driven. The space between the wall and the foss was wide enough to admit a sentinel.

Within the wall lay the ships, drawn up high and dry in rows, one behind another;* and beside the ships lay encamped the men belonging to them. Whether, however, the several nations lay arranged in these several rows, the vagueness of the Homeric account leaves it impossible to decide. On the right was the tent of Achilles; on the left that of Ajax; in the centre of the whole army was probably Agamemnon, and not far from him Odysseus. Near these was an open space (ἀγορά), where stood the altars of the gods.† There were streets or roads between the several rows of ships. Clay huts (κλισίαι), built of straw bound with osier twigs, cemented together with earth, and thatched with rushes, were the habitations of the Greeks. The huts of the Princes were somewhat more commodious. A court (αὐλή), a covered ante-room, or rather shed, open at the sides (αἰθουσα), and deal doors, are mentioned as among the luxuries they possessed.

The ships were distinguished by the number of the oars, and were painted red or black, as is still the custom in countries near the scene of the Iliad.‡ They had decks. Shipwrights, who were honoured as artists, had constructed these.§

Ships.

* Il. xiv. 35. † Il. viii. 3. 222. ‡ Il. xiii. 435, 729.
§ Compare Il. v. 60, 61, with xviii. 390.

The simpler vessels were built for their own use by all such as knew how to handle a hatchet, a gimlet, and a measuring line.* The vessel was impelled by a sail, which could be hoisted or lowered, and by a rudder or helm, but they generally kept close in shore; for in fogs or gloomy nights they were in danger of shipwreck. They only knew how to sail before the wind, and in a calm sea. If there was any threatening of a storm or bad weather, they immediately made for land, and drew up their ship, or rather boat, on the shore, where large stones (εὐναὶ),† made fast with ropes, served the purpose of an anchor. They sometimes lay months in harbour waiting for a fair wind. Nothing but dire necessity could make them put out far to sea, and they gladly avoided sailing by night; for the sailor could only resign himself to his fate when the moon was invisible, or when clouds obscured the Pleiades, Bootés or the Bear. These served to direct his course by night, as the sun did by day.

* Od. v. 243. † Il. i. 436.

Chapter VI.

Supremacy of one chief—Origin of kingly power to be found in personal qualities—Personal gifts hereditary in races descended from the gods—Hereditary nobility in Phœnicia—Council of nobles in Eleusis—Powers, honours, and privileges of princes—Limitations to kingly power—Nemesis—Primeval and divine rights of the people—Popular resistance instigated by the gods—Duties of kings—Maintenance of laws—Absence of express contracts, or of stated popular assemblies—Law of succession—Power of the nobles, and of the people—Laws of hospitality—Ideas of the State as a body—Connexion of government and religion—Notions of morality and of religion—Expiation or propitiation—Sacrifice—Sacrificial rites—Humanising principles on which they were founded—Priestly character and office—Divination—Dreams—Oracles—Incantations—Purification—Prayer—Penitential offerings.

Such were the objects and the circumstances amid which passed the life of the Homeric heroes. In the camp before Troy, it differed little from that which was led at home.

One alone was, however, chief of the besieging army, under whom the others, sovereign lords at home, held the respective subordinate ranks of nobles, elders (γέροντες), and optimates.

Whether the kingly power, in the extension in which it appears in Homer, grew out of the alliance of families and their patriarchal union; or whether, as others think, from the time of the Pelasgic feud, it sprang from the connexion of the heads of clans or tribes with their retainers or clansmen; so much is clear; that the original elements out of which their dignity arose, must have been qualities which their contemporaries could not attain to. All the consideration that could be united on the head of a family, by the wisdom of age, which, aided by a strong hand and a persuasive tongue,

Kinglypower and dignity.

knew how to preserve peace among the rude sons of nature, quickly roused to revolt and violence; by riches; by personal beauty; and by manliness in the widest comprehension of the word, formed the basis of the princely dignity. It is easy to understand why succeeding ages regarded this as hereditary in the family of the prince: descent from a godlike race gave security for those personal endowments which were the source of all these high and pre-eminent merits. Thus, for instance, the blood of the gods seemed to establish a hereditary claim to strength, and size, and beauty of body. But if one of the race were misshapen, the princely dignity was withheld from him; as in the instance of the lame Medon of Neleus; for it seemed that in him the divine blood was but half present. Old age, when hale and vigorous, like that of Laertes, had no effect in abrogating the claim to kingly rank. The aged monarch only retired from the active superintendence of his household, and called in the support and assistance of his sons.

But however essential were the hereditary gifts and qualities which severed the princes of the heroic times from the mass of the people, we must by no means confound this with a caste-like separation of different classes. Among the Phæacians indeed, we find several noble clans or families who stand in the relation of subordinate chiefs or rulers to the supreme ruler, and share with him the title of king. And the hereditary king Celeus, of Eleusis, in the later hymn,* calls together the highest of his nobles for council, and for the administration of justice: or,

* Hymn to Demeter, v. 149.

according to another interpretation, exchanges pledges with them like Eteocles and Polynices.

Princes, to whom the heads of noble races were attached in close alliance, were honoured as being of a higher nature. This is expressed in the common title of honour, ἥρωες ;* though indeed the idea of a hero was so wide a one, that every man who was at all distinguished, even the herald,† was included in it. The power which the prince, as first among his equals (*primus inter pares*), shared with the nobles, was almost unlimited; but in any case of disputed sovereignty, he could hardly calculate on the slightest recognition of his claims from the partisans of his rival. The state-offices belonging to sovereignty, (τιμαὶ ;) gifts of honour, (δῶρα ;) the share of honour in the division of the spoil; presents, rather fees, for judicial decisions; a fatter morsel, a higher seat, and a fuller cup at the public feast; and lastly, a choice piece of land (τέμενος), constitute the distinctions which no one contested with the acknowledged sovereign. Even his lesser wants were partly supplied by the people.

The limitations to the kingly power lay in the early-developed idea of a dread (νέμεσις) of that public opinion which repugned and reprobated the wanton and arbitrary invasion of those higher rights conferred by the gods.‡ For as Zeus himself was subject to the might of a dark and inexplicable Fate, which, placed far above all the visible world, signifies that universal right or justice which rules supreme over all; so did the arbitrary will of rulers Limitations.

* Ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν. Il. xii. 23. † Od. xviii. 424.
‡ Od. i. 132.

feel and acknowledge that popular voice, which, at the instigation of the gods,* dared to disregard and contemn even the mandates of princes.

Among the duties, the violation of which might draw down this Nemesis, was that, incumbent on the prince, of watching over the laws; which, emanating as they did from lawgivers of divine lineage, commanded a deeper veneration and a more implicit faith.† That which had been handed down as proceeding from the oracles of the gods, and thence as having the force of law, (Θέμις, Θέμιστες, Θέμιστα,) served as a rule in the recurring incidents of human society, and claimed the reverence due to established usage (δικὴ); and every fresh decision which was issued by the power and the wisdom of the prince in new contingencies, became, by the connexion in which it stood to the earlier decision, binding upon his subjects.

We should, however, fall into a capital error as to the whole relation between sovereign and people, if we concluded that there existed any express right on the part of the latter to call the former to account in case of any delinquency. Any thing like a contract, or those mutual securities which demand written documents, are wholly out of the question in the times we are treating of.

Law of Succession.

There is no evidence of the existence of any agreement to render an account of the use of sovereign power; nor of any times specified by law for summoning meetings of the nobles or the

* Od. iii. 215.

† Il. i. 238. δικασπόλοι οἵτε Θέμιστας πρὸς Διός εἰρύαται; and Il. ii. 205.

people. Even the hereditary succession is not regulated with any strictness; legitimate descent alone seems essential to the inheritance of the sovereign dignity. No trace has as yet been found of any Salic law excluding women; indeed the crown descended to Helen. The preference due to princely and stainless lineage was, however, acknowledged; as we find in Orestes, who succeeded to Menelaus, because, excepting himself, there were only children by female slaves. The most striking exception is, the solicitude about his rights, expressed by Telemachus.* Here descent was not sufficient to secure the succession to the throne.

Nobles.

The nobles were the associates or sharers in the political or administrative acts of the prince (the ἀριστῆες or ἔξοχοι), and had therefore a *veto*, or at least a right of warning and advising.

People.

The people, who held a sort of midway station between independence and servitude or vassalage, were, it is true, present at the assemblies (ἀγορά), but had no voice; they only listened to the deliberations in silence.† When the adversaries in a cause on which the nobles are sitting in judgment (γέροντες), turn from them to the surrounding multitude,‡ it is not that the decision rests with the people, but because the sympathizing cheers of either party are likely to excite favourable prepossessions. By these shouts they act as ally to the individual.

Laws of hospitality.

It was only in his home, however, that the Greek was secure from all invasion of his rights and privileges. The stranger or emigrant was unhonoured, and exposed to wrong and con-

* Od. i. 397. † Il. xii. 213. ‡ Il. xviii. 500.

tumely.* Yet the stranger, when he appeared in a peaceful character, was protected by that universally diffused piety† (independent of all friendship or connexion‡), which gave him a claim to table and couch, to protection, and to the security of the royal residence. To slay or to injure a guest was a crime which even Hercules was compelled to expiate.§ And not heroes alone had a claim to this hospitality; to this shelter beneath the kingly roof, in the λέσχη,‖ or by the warmth of the blacksmith's forge (ἐν χαλκηΐῳ δόμῳ).¶ Singers, priests, physicians, and artists, as also heralds, enjoyed the same privilege (ὁι δημιοεργοὶ ἔασιν).** Day-labourers, merchants, and beggars, likewise rejoiced in the privilege of the stranger, which always applied to the individual person, without any consideration of the foreign state to which he might chance to belong.

To afford shelter and assistance to fugitives seeking refuge was a religious duty; for they are under the immediate protection of Zeus, who has already favoured their escape and flight, and watches over them as their avenger.††

Idea of State.

Ideas of the State, as a collective whole, though of course not more distinctly developed than they may be conceived to have been in the beginning of civil society, yet show themselves here and there. To prove this, it is sufficient to mention

* Ἀτίμητος μετανάστης. Il. ix. 644; xvi. 59. † Od. xiv. 389.

‡ Ξεινοσύνη. Od. xxi. 35; the pledges of hospitality, ξεινήϊον and δωτίνη. Od. ix. 268.

§ Od. xxi. 27. ‖ Od. xviii. 328.

¶ Od. xviii. 327. ** Od. xix. 135.

†† Compare Od. xiii. 213, with Hesiod, W. & D. 325.

that in Od. xxi. 17, the assembled people is spoken of as debtor, although in other respects the whole state merges in the prince; or that compensation for aggressive acts is demanded of another country* in the way of treaty or negotiation; thus recognizing the foreign many as a political body. Other traces of this idea of a state, and of international law, are to be found in the inviolability of heralds, who step between combatants to part them; and in the voiding of quarrels by single combat under the sanction and protection of witnesses.

Religion.

The notions of the rights of individuals, or of the existence of a political body as a distinct whole, could not have unfolded themselves to this extent without various struggles. Many of them were doubtless taught by the force of circumstances; but there were others which were more widely diffused and more fully accredited, because they had their origin in the idea of the immortal gods, as the witnesses and the guardians of every promise;† the avengers of perjury; the models to all earthly rulers, of fidelity to treaties, and of fulfilment of engagements.‡ For though the Greeks were far removed from the conception of deities, as perfect moral beings, yet the feeling of the power of those existences which are denoted by the words τὸ δαιμόνιον,§ and the consciousness of their own feebleness and dependence on them,—in short, that which we call religion—gave rise to a practical morality which diffused itself over all the relations of life. Every thing

* Il. xi. 673. † Il. xxii. 254; Od. xiv. 303.
‡ Il. iv. 158; Hesiod, W. & D. 282.
§ Il. xv. 418; xxi. 93; xvii. 98.

great and important was placed under the guardianship of these higher powers; and the dread of them, and of public opinion,* formed the basis of the Just and the Holy.

Religious rites.

But no portion of ancient history is so involved in doubts and enigmas as the system of those practices whereby these eternal† overruling powers were propitiated. In no respect are ancient and modern, Greek and Roman, so intermixed and confounded as in this: just because Dionysius of Halicarnassus ‡ found that an uniformity between old Italian and old Grecian rites suited his system.

Propitiation.

The heathen schemes of propitiation have their source in the notion of rude and uninstructed man, that those higher powers over whom he has no control, of whose relation to himself he has only a vague consciousness, must be living creatures; consequently must have the wants common to humanity, and, among others, must desire to eat. The untutored son of nature, therefore, set before them the fruits or the flesh which formed his own food, in order that they might cease to do him evil, or be disposed to do him good.§ Thus arose sacrifices, which soon led to the Mantic science (*μαντική*), or the science of divination. For besides the just or the groundless conclusions, which the fisherman or the hunter was led to draw from his good or bad success in his occupation, when the same

* Il. ix. 460; Od. xiv. 83.

† That is, beyond the duration of human life.

‡ vii. 72.

§ See the Apocryphal Book of Bel and the Dragon. To this, also, may be referred the Ἑκάτης δεῖπνον, offered at Athens at the beginning of every month.

bird, the same beast, often fell in his way under similar circumstances;—so that he came to look upon it as the cause or the indication of his luck (ὀρνιθοσκοπία);—it is easy to see that the anxious mind of a man offering sacrifice would be prone to vague anticipations of the desired result, according as the smoke ascended or did not ascend, or as the perfection and healthiness of the animal rendered it an offering without spot or blemish, fit to propitiate the favour of the gods. Thus did the sacrificer (ἱερεὺς), become a seer,—a prophet (μάντις).

Sacrificial rites.

The Homeric sacrificial usages recall to us the laws by which man was bound to humanity towards beasts. Hunger had taught the eating of raw flesh, which, as now in some parts of Africa, was cut out of the living animal. Upon this the savage appetite gorged itself; till the art of baking flesh or roasting it on spits or skewers, produced a more humane taste, and led to the rejection of this revolting food. At length other modes of cooking, such as boiling, and the art of preserving meat from decomposition by salt, were discovered; and social man entirely abandoned the ferocious diet of the savage.

But these steps in the art of preparing animal food are not the only proofs of a progress in civilization; the manner of killing the beast shows the gradual growth and prevalence of more humane feelings and actions; the art of slaughtering stands at the top of this ascending scale. In order to spare the animal suffering and ill usage, by a more expeditious death inflicted according to certain rules, one of the god-like humanizers of mankind* raised the slaughtering

* The mythus of the later Greeks attributes this to Hermes.

into a religious act, and stamped every beast that was slaughtered with the sacrificial character—ἱερεῖον. The name of the priest, ἱερεύς, who was distinguished from all by θυηπόλος, θυοσκόος, invested the bloody and repulsive office with an ecclesiastical dignity; for ἱερεύειν is properly to slay;* whether the animal be destined for a feast, when only some pieces are cut off for the gods; or offered to the gods, in which case merely a portion fell to the heroes.†

What were the grounds of the choice of the animals offered to the gods—to Zeus, bulls and rams;‡ to Helios, a wild boar;§ to Apollo, bulls and goats, or new born lambs;‖ to Poseidon, black bulls ¶ (as also to the river-gods, Alpheus and Xanthus;** whilst sheep were offered to Sperchius,†† &c.)—is not to be gathered from any expressions of the poet.

The offerings mentioned by him are, however, limited to bulls and cows, sheep, goats, and swine. The unblemished condition of the animal seems clearly required.‡‡ The same obscurity hangs over the number in which they were offered. The hecatomb, originally sacrificed to Apollo, afterwards to Athene,§§ is, indeed, according to the common explanation, an offering of an hundred beasts;|||| but

* Il. xxiv. 125. † Heyne, on the passage just cited.
‡ Il. ii. 403; Od. ix. 461. § Il. xix. 197.
‖ Il. i. 21; xxiii. 864. ¶ Od. iii. 6; xxi. 131.
** Il. xi. 727, &c. †† Il. xxiii. 147.
‡‡ Il. i. 66: x. 292, and Od. xi. 30. §§ Il. vi. 115.
|||| Even the ancients disputed concerning the etymology of the word, which seems to be derived from θύεα ἑκατὸν βοῶν. Segaar is hardly justified in fancying it to mean an offering to Apollo ἑκατὸς.

it was afterwards used to express every solemn sacrifice at which several animals were slain; thus one hecatomb, mentioned in the Iliad,* consisted of twelve bulls,† and that vowed to Sperchius,‡ of fifty sheep.

The sacrificial beast, whose horns were sometimes gilded,§ was killed by cutting through the windpipe, the head being held up.‖ The blood was caught in a vessel (ἄμνιον), and was, as it were, the first libation; a sort of sanctification by blood. Then follows the strewing peeled barley (οὐλοχυτὴ) between the horns of the victim, and the besprinkling it with holy water; the cutting off the hair between the temples (ἀπαρχαὶ), and the throwing it into the flames; the flaying and the cutting out the legs, which were rolled in a double layer of fat (or, according to Voss, tallow), and, together with slices from the other limbs, as θύεα (in later language θυσίαι), were burnt.

The principal authorities for these customs are Iliad i. 458, and Odyssey iii. 440; but it is not yet perfectly clear what parts of the animal were burnt to the gods. Heyne was of opinion that the legs and

* vi. 115.

† The hecatomb which Ulysses bore in his galley to Chryse, when the anger of Apollo was to be appeased, was probably a still smaller number: latterly the word implied merely a sacrifice. Hence ὧων ἑκατόμβη.

‡ Il. xxiii. 46.

§ Il. x. 294, the gilder χρυσοχόος; Od. iii. 438.

‖ If sacrificed to the celestials. If to the infernal divinities, the knife was pushed upwards, into the throat. See Virgil, Georg.: "vix *supposiți* tinguntur sanguine cultri."

thighs and *prosiciæ*, i. e. slices of the entrails and some other choice parts, were burnt. Voss,* who strenuously contends against this interpretation, maintains that the μηροὶ, i. e. the thighs, were cut out, but that there is no instance in Homer of their being burnt; that on the other hand, the μηρία, μηρά, or μῆρα, i. e. the thigh bones, were burnt, being first wrapped in double fat,† and covered with slices from all the limbs. While these were burning, the nobler intestines ‡ were roasted on five-pronged forks in the sacred flame;§ and divided among the sacrificers, and those who were to partake with them in the blessing of the gods.

There is better evidence of these sacrifices of bones in a passage in Hesiod's Theogony.‖ The Æolians adhered longest to the use of the five-pronged fork; hence the pretended Herodotus, who wrote the life of Homer,¶ affirms that Homer was an Æolian. While the flame consumed the victim, plenteous libations were poured upon the altar (βωμός), to which poor men (like the honest swineherd) flocked for warmth as a substitute for the brazier (ἐσχαρὴ).** The remaining flesh served as the δαὶς ἔϊση at the repast.

Sacerdotal office.

The foregoing sacrificial rites, especially the part relating to the slaying, are the office of the priest; and, according to Aristotle, in an age which he still designates as the heroic, did not

* Mythologische Briefe, ii. p. 309.

† Suet. Il. xxi. 363.

‡ Voss adheres to this opinion in spite of the contradiction of Schneider; Griechisches Wörterbuch, s. v. μηρίον.

§ Il. i. 463; ii. 426.

‖ l. 556.

¶ c. 37.

** Od. xiv. 420.

fall within the province of kings.* This distinction we never find observed in Homer; but it serves as the best proof that the sacerdotal dignity could not be the basis of that sanctity of the kingly character which is frequently mentioned. On the contrary, the priests (who are often spoken of as married) were obliged to have recourse to the protection of the civil power to secure to themselves deference and consideration,† even when they possessed the personal privilege or gift of divination. Illustrative of the condition of the priests, there is a striking passage concerning Theano,‡ who, though married, officiated, by the choice of the Trojans, as priestess of the virgin Pallas.

It is evident that the examination and proof of the unblemished state of the victim, which was afterwards carried to so high a pitch in the ἱερομαντεία would naturally give rise to a sort of Mantic science. This, however, as it relates to the entrails, seems to have been unknown to the Homeric age. But, as the offerer of the sacrifice gathered indications of the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of his wishes from the ascent of the smoke,§ it is quite intelligible that the priest (ἱερεὺς) must necessarily become an interpreter of signs—a seer (μάντις).‖ Μάντις is, according to the interpretation of the ancients, one out of whom the god speaks—one who utters the oracles of the god: next, one who knows how to point out the σημεῖα and τέρατα,—the unusual signs or omens which foreshow the future.¶ Of all kinds

* Politics iii. 9, ed. Göttling, p. 102.

† Il. i. 80. ‡ Il. vi. 298. § Il. i. 66.

‖ Heyne on Il. i. 62. ¶ Il. xi. 4; Od. xii. 394

of mantic art, however, the most common in the Homeric times were, the interpretation of the flight of solitary birds, the *οἰωνομαντεία* (*οἰωνός* from *οἶος*), the *ὀρνιθοσκοπία*; and that of dreams (for dreams are from Jove).* Calchas' power of divination was nearly limited to the knowledge of the flight of birds, as was also that of Theoclymenus. This kind of sagacity is celebrated as hereditary.†

Dreams.

The language of Homer is so rich in expressions for the visions of fancy which float before the dreamer, that we might infer a greater cultivation of the science of interpreting dreams. Ἐνύπνιον was the name which the poet gave, generally, to every sport of the imagination during sleep; ὄναρ, afterwards ὄνειρον, the individual image seen in the dream; for such pleasant illusions were an enjoyment (ὄνειαρ) to the child of nature. But the visions which appeared between sleeping and waking, and connected with a sort of half-consciousness (*sopor*), were called ὕπαρ.‡ The dreams most pregnant with consequences occurred after midnight, about the time when the cows were milked.§

Oracles.

The degree of civilization to which the Homeric age had attained was far from the point at which oracles, properly so called,—i. e. answers to interrogators,—could arise. The treasure of Delphi is mentioned only in one passage of the Iliad;‖ and the Odyssey contains one allusion to the answering god of Pytho.¶ Express mention is made in the latter part of the Odyssey** of the Dodonean

* Il. i. 65; Od. xix. 535. † Il. xv. 225.
‡ Od. xix. 547. § Od. iv. 841. ‖ Il. ix. 404.
¶ Od. viii. 79. ** Od. xix. 296.

oaks; and, in the Iliad, the Selli, who speak on the inspiration of spirits, occur but once.*

The shades of the departed, summoned with incantations, after quaffing draughts of blood, reply to the questions of mortals. Who can forget Odysseus' interrogation of the dead?† Spells.

But even at an early period of its history, the popular mind of Greece revolted from these spells, which continued to be practised only as charms for wounds (ἐπῳδαί);‡ in a later age, the tremendous mysteries imported from the East gave added horrors to these unhallowed rites.

Such were the means by which the Homeric Greek sought to pry into the hidden designs of the gods. Various were those by which he sought to avert their displeasure, or to propitiate their favour. For besides the solemn sacrifice, there were purification and prayer, and those plaintive litanies which in the hour of need he addressed to him whom he looked to for preservation. Purification.

Purification and prayer are, in Homer, almost inseparably connected. To the imagination of untutored man the soul may appear spotted and begrimed, and this moral foulness may seem to be removed by bodily ablutions. Nor can he worthily approach the presence of those from whom nothing is hidden, unless with a body cleansed from every spot or stain.

The hands which are raised in supplication to the gods must be newly washed,§ even if the put-

* Il. xvi. 233.
† Od. xi.
‡ Od. xix. 457.
§ Il. i. 449; ix. 171.

ting on a clean garment, to approach their presence with decorum, were dispensed with. Water impregnated with salt was found to remove all dirt more effectually than pure tepid water; and accordingly it is mentioned with especial reverence in the later Delphic liturgies. Sulphur, described even in the Homeric language as θεῖον, divine,* had still more powerful virtues. Thus purified, the Greek came to prayer, to the sacrifice, to the feast. The suitors of Penelope alone, in their insolent levity, neglected these sacred customs; and the savage brutality of the Cyclop proceeds to the repast smeared and clotted with human blood, and neglects the previous rite of libation; thus betraying the extremest pitch of cannibal ferocity.

For it was one of the wisest precepts of humanity in the Homeric creed, that no man who bore upon him stains of blood could pray to the gods, nor even truly enjoy their good gifts.†

Prayer.

Prayer hallows a repast, or indeed almost every incident of life, and gives it the character of a testimony to that religion from which the spiritual must acquire a predominancy over the animal life. Even the description of prayers as the daughters of the supreme Zeus,‡ or the peculiar designation of a priest, as ἀρητήρ, the putter-up of prayers,§ involve the recognition of the value and the solemnity of prayer; which, restricted to no particular place, prescribed by no minister or mediator, was addressed to the gods with no other ceremony than the raising the flat and upturned

* Il. xvi. 223; Od. xxii. 481.

† Il. vi. 267; Od. xxii. 411. ‡ Il. ix. 498. § Il. i. 94.

palm to those divine abodes to which the eyes were lifted.*

But if the memory of former acts of piety were of no avail to turn the anger of the gods,† recourse was then had to expiatory offerings (*ἱλασμοί*), to libations, and incense,‡ or to woful cries of lamentation (*ὀλολυγή*), as means of winning their favour. Singing their mournful and penitential litany (the *ululatus* of the Romans), in responsive chorus, they sought to appease the wrath of the gods. These propitiatory rites assumed a more solemn character when appointed for the safety of a whole people,—as for the deliverance of Troy. Then did the long train of the women follow the priestess to the holy place (the temple, which, according to the belief and usage of the primeval world, was generally situated on a mountain); uttered their mournful wail in chorus; and, amid prayers, laid a gift on the knees of the image of the God.§

May these sketches, taken from the rich and brilliant Homeric period, although restricted by the form of the present work to the merest outlines, induce admirers of Greek antiquity to cultivate a more intimate acquaintance with this heroic age! For every kind of investigation,‖ Homer will be found a mine of exhaustless treasure.

* Il. vii. 172; xxiv. 308. Od. ii. 262; xxi. 364.

† Il. i. 39. ‡ Il. ix. 495.

§ Il. vi. 303, with Heyne's comments.

‖ A new edition of the work of Everhard Feith, (Antiquitatum Homericarum libri iv., Ed. nova, Argent. 1743, 8vo.), of which great use has been made here, would be one of the most desirable acquisitions to Greek students.

Chapter VII.

Thessalian Invasion—Its Consequences—End of the Heroic Age—Reduction of several Tribes to the condition of Serfs—Migrations of Bœotians, Dorians, Achæans and Ionians—Attica—Codrus—Arcadia—Elis—General agitation of Greece caused by the Trojan War—Emigrations—Fitness of the Hellenic Character for Colonization—Eastern Colonies anterior to Western—Settlers retained the Greek Character—Analysis of it—Antagonist peculiarities of the Doric and Ionic Races—Division of the Grecian States—Relation of Colonies to Parent States.

Thessalian invasion.

The descent of the Thessalians on the fruitful plains of the Peneus, about fifty years after the epoch of the Trojan war, scattered the powerful and illustrious tribes, rich in glorious traditions and immortal in song, and terminated the Heroic Age. The Hellenic Myrmidons were driven away. The Aehæans and Magnetes were subjugated by the warlike and crafty Thessalians,—expert horsemen, but without any tincture of higher culture or more refined humanity,—and reduced to the condition of serfs (*πενέσται*); unalterably bound to the soil which they cultivated; *adscripti glebæ*. Those Bœotians, too, who remained in their own country, shared the same fate. But the greater portion of this tribe emigrated, and occupied the country which from that time took the name of Bœotia. Here in the low ground around the Copaic lake, they built a new Arnè; they raised a temple to the Itonean Pallas at Coronea; and at length conquered the more southern Thebes, which henceforth became the metropolis of the nation. Even the Dorians, whose chiefs boasted

their descent from Hercules, did not escape the consequences of the Thessalian invasion. They were driven out of the narrow mountain district between Œta and Parnassus, in which they had hitherto dwelt, and crossed the gulf of Corinth at Naupactus. On the opposite shore they encountered the Achæans. A decisive battle took place, in which they defeated Tisamenus, king of the Achæans, at Mycenæ and Lacedemon. He in his turn fell upon the Ionians, who had inhabited the twelve cities on the north coast of the Peloponnesus. A great battle ensued. The Ionians were defeated; and as their capital city, Helice, was on the point of falling, they capitulated, on condition of having liberty to depart in safety, and took refuge in Attica, with the inhabitants of which they claimed a common origin. The Achæans took possession of the twelve conquered cities, where they established free forms of government, and lived peacefully under petty kings.

The victorious Dorians established themselves firmly in the Peloponnesus under their Heracleid chiefs, and became (probably only by degrees, and after long and exterminating wars with the Achæans) masters of the country. Attica alone remained free from these tides of foreign immigration. It received only Ætolian refugees from Pylos, who had been driven out by the Heracleid Dorians; and, at a later period, Messenians. Attica was saved from the continually increasing power and encroachment of the Heracleid Dorians by the voluntary self-sacrifice of Codrus.

Arcadia remained secure in the possession of its primeval Pelasgic lords; defended by its mountains,

by the valour of its inhabitants, and by the marriage of Cresphontes, one of the Heraeleid chiefs, with the daughter of Cypselus.

The Ætolians, allies of the Dorians, had possession of Elis.

For centuries the Greek tribes, wave after wave, followed the impulse given to all minds by the agitations of the Heroic Age, and by the great struggle which precipitated its close. Herein true to nature; who, in certain stages of life, awakens in every nobly constituted heart the intense longing after the distant and the unseen.

Colonies.

For it was not the conquered alone, who, when bereft of their hereditary chiefs, or oppressed in their own ancestral region by foreign domination, scorned the delights of their native land, and, with the dauntless spirit of youth, went forth in quest of a new and distant home, where no tyrant might impose his will upon them. Even the conquerors shared this resistless impulse towards a life of wandering; sometimes, indeed, almost forced to it, when their new country and its produce were insufficient for the wants of the rapidly increasing population; often, allured by the legends of distant wonders, and by rumours of the treasures and delights of easy acquisition in other lands. The mental horizon of the nations was become wider; and the singular talent of the Hellenes for transplanting their own character, habits, and institutions into every country, and rendering them as it were native to every soil, found attraction and exercise in the chaplet of islands which encircles the mother country; on the blooming shores

of Asia; and even on the alluring coast of Italy. Here they found new homes, affording space for every exertion and every enterprise.

Besides the voluntary colonizations, which were prompted in part by commercial policy, there were other bands of emigrants who were driven from their country by party feuds. Others were sent forth by managers or governors of villages, as a chosen and consecrated band (ἀνδρῶων ἀπαρχαὶ, as for instance the Parthenians who settled in Tarentum), who were to win their common means of subsistence, and to continue to contribute from afar to the welfare of the mother country. This constant endeavour of all these rovers, wherever love of adventure had led them, to unite into a commonwealth ordered after the Hellenic model, is a remarkable proof of Greek civilization, which ever kept steadily in view a known and positive good; whereas the wandering spirit of the northern hordes, in a period full of similar phenomena, seemed to have no other object than transient adventure, and restless movement.

The conquered Peloponnesus had become too small for the victorious Dorians. Bands issued forth from Megaris, Argos, Trœzen, and Epidaurus; and on the south-western coast of Asia, they built or peopled Halicarnassus, Cnidos, the island of Cos (the somewhile seat of the Asclepiads), and Ialysus, Lindus and Camirus on the sunny Rhodes.

Ætolian settlers introduced Hellenic manners in the northernmost part of the west coast of Lesser Asia. More than thirty cities owe their origin to them; and Mytilene and Methymna in Lesbos, and Smyrna, which did not join the Ionic league till a

late period, and Cymæ, are the most conspicuous of those on the continent. Colonists from every race congregated at Athens, and, bearing the name of the predominant tribe, Ionians, quitted the Prytaneum and followed Neleus. After receiving reinforcements from various states, especially from Bœotia, they established themselves in the mild climate of Ionia, and founded the Twelve Cities; among which Miletus, Ephesus, and Phocæa, the mothers of a band of blooming daughters, rose to a high pitch of commercial prosperity. Samos and Chios, which belong to these twelve cities, vying with the more important colonies, spread the gentle and refined manners of Ionia from the shores of the Black Sea and the Mæotian Lake, to the distant coasts of Gallia and Iberia. On the Cyclades around Delos, the cradle of Apollo, another Ionic colony settled, and celebrated the festival of the god with games.

The Western colonies are of a later date. They did not begin till the East ceased to offer space for new settlements. Dorians, Achæans, and Ionians at various times occupied the coasts of Italy and the fortunate Sicily, the oldest colonial city of which is the Doric Syracuse. Under the favouring heaven of Magna Græcia arose Tarentum, Croton, Sybaris, and the series of flourishing towns along the whole line of that enchanting bay to Naples. They grew incredibly in numbers, activity, and opulence; and their inhabitants preserved under another clime, and surrounded by other circumstances, the independent freedom of their native land, and the energy, flexibility, polish, and youthful freshness of the Greek character.

For however varied were the forms under which the pliant and facile spirit of the Greeks presented itself in local circumstances so varied; on the main land, or in the islands; in Sicily, or on the Thracian coast; in Africa, or in Hesperia; in all of which it assumed new aspects, and made new experiments; in all of which it was kept active and alert by aggressions from without; yet, in all, the distinctive *common character* remained:—that oft-celebrated excitability which hurried on to instant action; that proud self-consciousness, not sparing of words; that quick sensibility to pain and to pleasure which, while it disdained no enjoyment, and overlooked no beauty, scorned not the tears of tender sorrow;—if, indeed, we can concede the name of *a common character* to so varied a mass, of which it is impossible to give even an outline, without first laying down so many limitations. Greek character.

Notwithstanding all their susceptibility to the charms of poetry and music, their relations to the female sex were in general coarsely sensual, and calculated for mere momentary enjoyment. In their political life we find the old saying—that the Hellenes were always children—true to the end. Dropping, with versatile caprice, what they had lately pursued with eager desire, this excitable and passionate people never exhibits a steadfast character, either in evil or in good. Many of the defects with which even the enthusiastic friends of the Greek cause, and still more its enemies, reproach that people, now struggling for liberty,* were the spots which obscured

* This was written in 1827.—Transl.

Hellenism thousands of years ago, in the days of its antique splendour.

Cupidity of others' possessions; envy of others' prosperity; cruelty towards an enemy, whom they considered it just and lawful to hate and pursue to the death; are the blemishes which, from the days of Hesiod and Herodotus to those of Polybius, deformed the old Hellenic character.

Even Thucydides,* however, divides this collective character of Hellenism into two main tendencies, between which there exists a sort of antagonism. These are, the characteristics peculiar to the Doric and the Ionic races. They were the main cause of that partition, which, after the Peloponnesian war (itself the consequence of these opposing hereditary peculiarities), brought about the decay of the entire political existence of Greece.

Doric character.

The character of Sparta may be taken as the type of Dorism; distinguishing itself, whether in manners or in arts, by austere and unpolished gravity; by simplicity and truth (ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθινὸν); by rigorous adherence to ancient usages, and hostility to all innovation; and by attachment to oligarchy, or government hereditary in certain families.

The music of the Dorians was grave and solemn, suited to the tragic chorus, and to the songs of Pindar. Their architecture was simple, grand, and massive; their poetry chiefly lyric, religious and lofty.

Ionic character.

The outlines of the Ionic character it is not easy to define with equal precision; for the Athenian cannot be assumed as its proper type.

* ii. 37.

The old Attic was not so widely removed from the Doric as is generally represented by those who adopt the usual formula of Ionism. And by the time the Athenian character had become Ionic, the Doric had lost its pristine virtues, and had thus approached half way to meet it.

It cannot, however, be denied that the Ionian was mobile; alive to every pleasure; not obstinately attached to established customs, rather indeed rushing hastily upon new experiments. His favourite form of government was the democratical. For the very oratorical display which gratified the vanity of the speaker, also increased his claims to the consideration of others.

The poetry of the Ionians is of a cheerful cast; they loved the amusing Epos and the living Drama; and delighted in the sprightliest measures of music. Even their dress proved their love for the attractive and the comfortable. Their architecture, with its decorated pillars, showed the prevailing taste for the graceful and the ornate. This contrast between the two races is also acknowledged by Aristotle;* and gives us the key to much of the constitutional history of Greece. But it ought not to be assumed as a formula, according to which every thing may be divided into halves. This leads to specious theories, and to real confusion.

Nature had decreed the division of the people of Greece when she fashioned the country and the soil. Lofty mountains severed the valleys, whose inhabitants were more estranged from each other than if they had been divided by the

Division of Grecian States.

* Politics, v. 6.

sea. Cities built at the mouths of estuaries, and, by their position, commanding those further inland, completed this entire separation, by keeping the commerce of the latter to themselves, and preventing all intercourse with other towns. The notion of the state or commonwealth became more and more narrow in the inhabitants of cities; as, in like manner, the conception of the dignity of their office became lowered and abridged in the minds of princes. Then, where the intrusion of foreigners had loosened the old and feeble tie of mutual dependency and alliance, neighbours were more than ever estranged from each other, and the separations became more deeply marked: inasmuch as the populations of the mother countries were mixed; the distant colonies naturally weak, and, as they grew in prosperity and strength, their attachments to the parent state grew more and more feeble.

It is true, the connexion was studiously kept alive by numerous customs of the colonists. They received, at parting, fire out of the Prytaneum of the parent city, and the gods of their ancestral home. From her, too, the colonies were obliged to fetch their priests. Chori and Theori (ambassadors to the games) were deputed to appear at the festivals of the city whence they sprang, and to render to her the homage of dutiful and faithful children. At their festivals the colonial cities honoured the mother country with distinguished marks of reverence. To her they resorted for a leader when a new twig loosened itself from the young bough: they clung to the names which recalled the city of their fathers; and indeed the barbarism by which the new settlers were surrounded, and which was so strongly in contrast with their hereditary man-

ners, might in some sort have compelled them to hang together.

But it is in the nature of man to strive after independence. And thus this feeling of dependent affinity soon appeared burthensome; these duties were resisted as soon as the original generation of emigrants had passed away, and had been succeeded by those who felt themselves native to the new and distant soil; as soon as the populations of many flourishing cities, which had received bodies of more recent immigrants, felt that they owed a divided piety and allegiance. Necessity alone could have given permanency to such a connexion; and sometimes it did cause its renewal on either side. But, generally speaking, the colonial towns early outgrew the ties which bound them to the parent state.

Chapter VIII.

Causes which united the various States of Greece—Language—Poetry—Religion—National and Religious Festivals—Greek Taste for Refined and Intellectual Pleasures—National Gaiety—Cheerful Rites of the Primitive Religion—Different sorts of Festivals, Panegyric and Amphictyonic—Delian Festival, an example of the latter—Its Antiquity—The Athenian Theoria, or Pilgrimage—The Sacred Ship Theoris—Munificence of Nicias the Architheoros—Games—Comic Dance of Sailors—Concourse of Strangers—Decay of the Festival—Earthquake—Destruction of Delos—Lesser Delian Festival—Enumeration of other Festivals—Olympic games—Plain of Olympia—Its beauty—Origin of the games—Restoration by Iphitus—List of victors—Mode of counting time—Olympiads—Direction of the games—Hellanodikæ—Their functions—Order of the games—Sacrifices—Examination of the athletes—Foot-races—Pentathlon—Chariot-races—Horse-races—Musical contests—Prizes—Honours—Pecuniary rewards—Duration of the games—Their final termination—Pythian games—Their origin and connexion with the Delphic oracle—Site—Duration—Predominant musical character—Nemean games—Their funereal origin—Connexion with the battle of Marathon—Isthmian games—Influence of these festivals on the Hellenic people.

Under the circumstances we have just enumerated, Hellenism must have been utterly dispersed and lost, had not several causes reunited and held it together.

Language.

Language alone is a powerful bond of union, even when broken into various dialects. To all to whom this language recalled the deeds of their forefathers, it was a source and occasion of pride. In the epithet by which Homer describes the Carians,* *βαρβαρόφωνοι*,—the otherwise-speaking,—lies more than Strabo† would have us believe. It involves the suggestion that they shared not in the beautiful language of Greece.‡

* Il. ii. 867. † xiv. 2.

‡ Herodotus, viii. 135.

But even this singularly favoured tongue, rich, polished, and expressive as it is, would have been no sufficient tie between these several races, had they not possessed in it, and with it, a common treasure, which all alike regarded as high and holy:—the popular lays and legends, in which all who spoke a common language saw the renown of their ancestors, and their own pleasures—in short their whole circle of thought and of action—securely handed down to distant generations.

Religious rites and festivals.

But this was not all. The minds, which this somewhat frail link of a common pride in one matchless treasure drew to each other, were far more firmly knit together by the worship of the same gods, and by the strong taste for festal meetings inherent in so social a people. Gay and brilliant as the overarching skies, the Greeks, from the first dawn of civilization, had loved to meet together for festive enjoyment—the dance, the song, the games. Nature, prodigal in all to these her darling children, had implanted in them so exquisite a taste, and so great mental activity, that the intellectual occupation and excitement which give durability and soul to pleasure, were indispensable, even amidst the throng and tumult of their gayest assemblies. Joyousness was acceptable to the gods; and joyous sports characterized all the festivals which the gods, while on earth, had instituted, with benign sympathy in human enjoyment. The god being propitiated by prayer and sacrifice, man rested from his labour, and the holiday was kept with gaiety and animation. A little jovial excess in intoxicating drink

(μέθυ)* was according to rule. There was an ἑορτή, which was celebrated with dancing, jumping, and all the marks of violent excitement. This primitive and rude form of the festival † was raised, by means of the introduction of regular rites, into the Panegyres; in which foreigners, people of the same extraction, and neighbours, were admitted to share—in which there were processions and Theoriæ (θεωριαὶ) i. e. companies of pilgrims from foreign lands, or from colonies. But even these more dignified and refined assemblies retained the characteristic gaiety and cheerfulness. The gloomy rites of the Egyptians, accompanied with lamentations, were censured as unworthy of the gods.‡ It was not till later ages that the Greeks descended to the celebration of mournful ceremonies, in which, clothed in black garments, they commemorated the rape of Persephone, and bewailed the sufferings of Dionysos.§

The love of the people for festivities secured permanence to the Panegyres, even in times when the circumstances to which they owed their rise and their prosperity had passed away. The numerous advantages which must necessarily result from such a confluence of people were also felt. Commerce received a new impulse; marriages were contracted. Public ordinances connected a community of civil rights with

* This word, as well as the German *meth*, allows of too much latitude of interpretation to be safely Englished by its cognate, *mead*.—Transl.

† Plutarch V. p. 39. Ed. Wyttenb.

‡ Spanheim on Callimachus' Hymn to Delos, 324.—Virgil, Georgic. i. 346, with Voss's Commentary.

§ Voss on the Hymn to Demeter, V. 482, p. 141.

this community in festivities; as for instance, the privilege of frequenting the fair or market held on the occasion, free from all dues or tolls. At a later period, measures were formally taken for what, at an earlier, was matter of course—the forming or strengthening political ties. Cessation of hostilities, ἐκεχειρία,—the true *treuga Domini;* and the thrusting out of every blood-guilty man from all participation in the festival, lay in the very nature of these great assemblages. Without such regulations the pleasures of the day would too often have been troubled by acts of violence.

Amphictyonic festivals.

That narrower circle of participants, the neighbourhood, whose meetings were confined to those within their own league or alliance, was placed under the presidency of the Amphictyons. This must therefore be distinguished from the more extensive jurisdiction of the Panegyres, who presided in cases where the festival was open to all comers, and one state acted as host.

Delian festival.

Among the Amphictyonic assemblies, such as those at Onchestus in Calauria, the Amarynthian in Eubœa, the Apaturian in Asia, &c.,* the Delian festivals may be more especially mentioned as affording a perfect representation of these more narrow and limited festal meetings. In May (on the sixth or seventh day of the Attic Thargelion, the birthday of Apollo and Diana, according to the Delian tradition), a united festival, consecrated to Apollo, was celebrated with the greatest pomp and solemnity,

* These are described in great detail by Wachsmuth, p. 107.

every fourth year, by all the surrounding people; that is, by all the inhabitants of the Cyclades, and by the neighbouring Ionians.

Its origin is lost in the obscurity of pre-Homeric times. But whatever had either been introduced, or suffered to fall into decay, in the lapse of ages, was removed or restored in the third year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, after Delos had undergone purification in the preceding winter. At an early period the Athenians resorted to this festival in the persons of their Theori, or sacred delegates. We find mention even in the laws of Solon of the Deliasts, i. e. those who had been to Delos; and up to the time of Demetrius the Phalerian, the Sacred Ship, the Theoris, which bore the pilgrims from Athens to Delos, was held to be an inheritance bequeathed by Theseus; though, of course, completely renewed by successive reparations.

Other Theoric missions, similar to that from Athens, but of inferior magnificence, resorted to this festival, and brought as offerings, whole hecatombs of oxen gaily decorated, accompanied by choruses with magnificent garments, and rich presents of golden chaplets and tripods. From the time of the restoration of the ancient festival, the Athenians had assumed the charge and direction of it, as well as the guardianship of the Delian sanctuary. Sums of money accruing from confiscated property; fines and unreclaimed pledges of those who had lost their lawsuits; rents of farms and houses, enriched the treasury of the god, and served to defray the vast expenses of the festivals.*

* See the account of the expenses of Ol. 101, 2, in Böckh's Staatshaushaltung der Athener, ii. p. 216, &c.

The chief superintendent or leader of the Theoria, or pilgrimage, was the Architheoros, who, though assisted from the public funds, was obliged, as the expedition was a liturgy (λειτουργία), to defray a part of the expenses from his own means. The Architheoria of Nicias the Athenian is celebrated. He sold land to the value of ten thousand drachmæ, in order that he might give the Delians a banquet at the festival,* and build a bridge to connect Delos with Rhenéa, where the Theoriæ landed.

Musical and gymnastic games (pugilistic combats, leaping and running), and after them choral dances, gave interest and splendour to the festival. The comic dance of the seamen, who were to bite the bark of a sacred olive tree, with their hands tied behind their backs, added to the general mirth. The wanderings of Delos, and the mazes of the Cretan labyrinth, represented in the dance, are mentioned by the ancients.

Tripods were the prize of those who distinguished themselves in these mimic dances, and their names were proclaimed aloud by heralds. The multitude of strangers, to whom water was handed gratuitously, according to the laws of the games, caused a sort of fair to be held, at which the Delian bronze (*æs Deliacum*) found a ready and advantageous sale. But in spite of the sanctity of the place, the Athenians early abused the consideration and ascendency they enjoyed. In the Mithridatic war the island was plundered. From that time it fell into decay, and being devastated by an earthquake in the time of Augustus, was shortly afterwards entirely deserted.

This great Delian Festival must be distinguished from a lesser annual one, although this latter was

* Ol. 90. 3.

likewise honoured with the resort of a Theoria from Athens. During the absence of these delegates, no one could be put to death in that city, as we learn from the history of Socrates, whose execution was deferred till the return of the vessel.*

Festivals.

There were, however, a multitude of festivals accessible to all Hellenes, besides the above-mentioned Amphictyonic ones; but not all of these claimed the sacred character of a true Hellenic national festival, however great the concourse, or however splendid the preparations to which they gave rise. Meursius and Castellanus have given the enumeration of these, for the most part, mnemonic festivals, in their *Græcia feriata*, with their accustomed erudition. The size of the present work permits only a bare enumeration of them.

The Æacean games were celebrated in Ægina;

The Amphiaræan, at Oropos in Bœotia;

The Alæan, at Tegea in Arcadia;

The Corean at Cleitor in Arcadia;

The Delphinian, in Ægina;

The Dioclean, in Megara;

The Erotidian, in Thespiæ;

The Eleusinian, in Attica;

The Geræstian, in Eubœa;

The Hellotian, in Corinth;

The Heræan, in Ægina, and at Argos (where they were also called the Hecatombæan);

The Heraclean, at Marathon and at Thebes (also known as the Iolæan);

The Hermæan, among the Pheneatæ, and in Pellene, from which latter the Theoxenia were different;†

* Ol. 95, 1, towards the end of the year.

† Böckh on Pindar, Ol. ix. 102.

The Isthmian, at Syracuse;
The Coræan, at Cleiton in Arcadia;
The Nemean, in Megara;
The Olympic, in Attica;
The Pythian, in Megara and in Sicyon;
The Trophonian, in Lebadea in Bœotia.

The mere names are generally sufficient to indicate the relation in which these festivals stood to the religion of the place, or to those myths which served as foundations to the very rudiments of history. Yet, much still remains to be cleared up, and many inquirers, equal to Otfried Müller in acuteness and industry, will still find occupation in this copious and difficult subject.

Olympic games.

The most remarkable of the festivals common to the whole Hellenic people were the Olympic games. They were celebrated on the small plain of Olympia (now Antilalla), an oblong of a mile and a quarter from east to west, bounded on the north by the river Cladeus, and still more closely by the spherical hill Cronion.* Around it were the sacred groves of the Altis.† On the south, the Alpheus formed the boundary of the valley, in which have been found the ruins of a theatre, of aqueducts of the

* See the very distinct and beautiful description and plan of the valley of Olympia, in Colonel Leake's Travels in the Morea, vol. i. p. 25. Colonel Leake calls the site of Olympia, Andilalo.—Transl.

† Ἄλτις, an old Peloponnesian form of Ἄλσος. "To place their temples in groves was one of those earliest customs of the Greeks, which continue to the present day."—Leake's Morea, vol. i. p. 35.—Transl. *Silva* alta Jovis *lucusve* Dianæ.—Virg.; *Lucus* et ara Dianæ.—Hor.; &c., passim in every Greek and Latin poet.

age of Hadrian, and of a temple.* The traces of the Hippodrome may also lead to the determination of other objects. On a separate level of the valley, now inundated, lay the stadium. The whole surrounding scenery seemed a garden of the gods, and is fitly called by Pindar, a grove of Zeus. Thick woods overhung the clear and sparkling brooks and their flowery banks; and temples and Thermæ and statues arose on every side.†

Olympia appeared to be the very centre of everything sacred; as the temple of Zeus was the centre and heart of Olympia.

Origin of the games.

Strabo believes that an oracle, which at a later age became mute, established the fame of this sanctuary, which, according to various traditions, was early the seat of a Panegyris. This, often interrupted after the time of Oxylus, was instituted anew by Iphitus of Elis, whose shield, on which the proclamation of the Elean sacred truce was inscribed, and Iphitus and Lycurgus named as founders, was existing as late as the time of Pausanias. About a century after the death of Iphitus began the unbroken catalogue of the Olympic victors, at the head of which stands Coræbus. The name of the successful competitor in the foot-race is invariably recorded, and generally those of the conquerors in the other games. These ἀναγραφαὶ, chronologically rectified by Timæus of Sicily, formed the basis of a mode of calculating time, common to all Greeks, which must have been doubly desirable from the variety of the calendars in use among them.

Mode of reckoning time.

* Col. Leake says, "there is little doubt that these poor remains are those of the celebrated temple of Jupiter."—Transl.

† Strabo, viii. 3, (page 354, ed. Casaub).

This Olympic reckoning, however, spite of its great advantages in the determination of dates, remained exclusively literary. It was neither used on coins nor in the ordinary transactions of life; nor was it generally received till long after Greece had possessed her Herodotus and her Thucydides. From the time of the restoration of the games by Iphitus, they were celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, every fourth year, from the 11th to the 15th of the Attic month Hecatombæon. On the 16th the prizes were distributed. The full moon, which always fell on the 13th or 14th day of every civic month, thus invariably lighted the festival. The games recurred after 49 or 50 lunar months. Two Olympiads, therefore, added together, formed a complete period of eight years; and thus, by the intercalation or omission of a few days, the Greeks could arrive at a division of time, not perfectly accurate indeed, but sufficiently convenient.*

The beginning of the Olympic reckoning (from the victory of Coræbus) which was confirmed by a calculation of the dark intervals between the moons, corresponds to the year 776 B.C.

During the time of their greatest splendour, the Olympic Games were under the exclusive direction of the Elcans. Whether this was always the case, or whether the inhabitants of the place were united with them in the management of these festivals, as Amphictyons, is still uncertain. It appears, however, indisputable, that Doric influence

Direction of the games.

* See Böckh. on Olymp. iii. 18—25. Pindari p. ii. t. 2. p. p. 138; and Wurm. de Ponder. Nummor. et de Anni ordinandi Rationibus.—Stuttgard, 1821. p. 174.

predominated at that early period; the Spartan love for gymnastic exercises probably materially contributed to the adoption of these games. Elis governed the festival by having the regulation of the modes or forms of contest. Priests of the Elean Zeus proclaimed the ἐκεχειρία, the cessation of hostilities, and the libations (σπονδαί); they were the heralds of the feast (κάρυκες ὡρᾶν), and perfectly corresponded to the Latin *feciales*. Out of each Elean Phyle, one Hellanodices was taken by lot, and for ten months previous to the festival, was instructed by the Nomophylaces in every thing appertaining to the games. The number of these Hellanodicæ which, in the 50th Olympiad, had been raised from one to two, increased with the increase of the Elean territory to twelve; till, in the 104th Olympiad, they were reduced to eight, in consequence of a diminution in the state. They were subsequently raised again to ten, and this number remained unaltered to the time of Hadrian.

Hellanodicæ.

On them it devolved to place on the brow of the victor the wreath of the sacred olive (στέφανον ἐκ κοτίνου,) the tree which Hercules himself had brought from Hyperborean regions to the sunny plain of Olympia. All disputes concerning the games were referred to the Olympic Council, and the popular assembly of the Eleans, as court of appeal from the decisions of the Hellanodicæ. The concourse of strangers were lodged in tents and inns, which were constructed without the Altis,* and probably disap-

* The building of the wall of the Altis of Zeus was attributed to Hercules.

peared after the termination of the games; not very comfortable dwellings in the heats of July.* The respective nations were under the supervision of police-officers of their own, who were all subject to the Hellanodicæ. Married women alone were denied all participation in the festival; according to those principles of restraint and reserve which excluded women generally from public life. On the other hand, virgins were admitted to witness the athletic games, and, at a later period, appeared themselves as conquerors in the chariot-races. Those who intended to offer themselves as competitors in the matches must first have been trained and exercised in the gymnasium of Elis.

Order of the games.

The festival opened with sacrifices, especially on the altar of Zeus, near the monument of Pelops (the altar which is described by Pausanias,† and which Pindar calls πολυξενώτατος, because sacrifices were burning on it incessantly); partly in order to obtain a response of the oracle through the Iamidæ; partly to render the god propitious to the approaching combats. This altar, which was said to have been built by the Idæan Hercules, or by some other native hero, was twenty-two feet high,‡ and stood on a base a hundred and twenty-five feet in circumference, within which was a smaller altar destined to the burning of the thigh bones.

The sacrifices lasted till midnight, and the multitude repaired immediately from them to the games,

* Ælian. Var. Hist. 14, 18. † V. xiii. 5.
‡ See Leake's Morea, vol. i, p. 38.

which began early in the morning. The sports were not always alike, either in number or in order. They were extended or abridged according to circumstances. The athletes were first seen using some preliminary exercises, such as beating the air (σκιαμαχεῖν), to give suppleness to their limbs (χειρονομεῖν). They then bound themselves by an oath to the Hellanodicæ, to adhere to the rules of the games, and to contend honourably according to the usages they had learned during their ten months' training in Elis. After this ceremony, they entered the arena of the Stadium, where they stripped and anointed themselves with ointment (ἄλειφαρ). In Pindar's time, the combatants were perfectly naked; for after the 15th Olympiad, when the Lacedæmonian Acanthus ran naked twice through the stadium, the apron which the Greeks had adopted to accommodate themselves to the manners of Barbarians was entirely laid aside.* The runners alone kept on a sort of sandals (ἐνδρομίδες), in order to preserve their feet from hurt.

As soon as the Hellanodicæ had taken their places, those athletes, whose peculiar kind of match was to lead the way, were called aloud. The names of those who were chosen by lot as antagonists were proclaimed in a loud voice by a herald, who laid his hand on the head of each in turn, and called upon the people to say, if any there present knew whether this man ought to be excluded from the contest on account of any crime, or of servile extraction. This examination of the athletes was called δοκιμασία, and one who had passed through it, εὐδόκιμος.†

* Thucyd. i. 6. † Fabri. Agon. iii. 12.

The foot-race in the stadium was the oldest, and for a long time the only, contest. To this was added, from the time of the sixty-fifth Olympiad, the race in armour (ὁπλιτῶν δρόμος). At first the σταδιοδρόμοι ran only once the length of the stadium, i. e. a hundred and twenty paces; but from the time of the fourteenth Olympiad the race was doubled, and the runners were obliged to run with equal rapidity the whole way from the starting point to the goal. At about the same period the course was also lengthened by the removal of the goal; so that the runner had to run from twelve to twenty-five times the length of the stadium. From the thirty-seventh Olympiad boys were admitted to run. Foot-race.

The introduction of the Pankration, in the eighteenth Olympiad, and the Pentathlon, or five-fold match (ἅλμα, ποδωκείη, δίσκος, ἄκων, πάλη, i. e. leaping, running, hurling the disk and the spear, and wrestling), as first victor in which, Lampis the Laconian has come down to us,* threw the single prizes for single modes of combat into oblivion. By a comparison of Xenophon's history of Greece † with Pausanias,‡ it appears, that the chariot-races were held on the same day with the Pentathlon. According to Pausanias,§ this arrangement was introduced subsequent to the 77th Olympiad. It appears from the same passage, that all the contests had previously been held on one day. From the above-mentioned date, however, one day was devoted to the equestrian games and the Pentathlon, and one to the wrestling matches. It is not easy to dis- Pentathlon.

* Olymp. 13. † vii. 4, 29. ‡ vi. 24, 1. § v. 9, 3.

cover what was the occupation of the other three days, unless these were set apart for the musical Agones.

Chariot-races.

The most magnificent of the games were the chariot and horse-races, in which monarchs took part, by sending their horses and mules. The dangerous nature of these contests is attested by numerous examples. The chariot-races preceded the horse-races. As early as the 25th Olympiad the contest of the chariots (ἅρμα, which in various passages signifies a chariot with four horses, τέθριππος) is mentioned. At a later period, in the 99th Olympiad, colts were driven by way of heightening the sport (ἅρμα πώλων). The chariot with two horses (συνωρίς) appears in the 93d Olympiad, and, drawn by young horses, in the 128th.

Horse-races.

Horse-races (ἵππος κέλης) first appear in the 33d Olympiad—long after (Olymp. 131), colt-races. A mixed sort of race, in which the rider leaped off his horse when near the goal, and ran on by the side (κάλπης δρόμος), was introduced in the 71st Olympiad, but was given up again in the 84th.

Musical contests.

Appended to these gymnastic contests were the musical ones; trials of skill between flute-players, which were celebrated in the Pythic as well as the Olympic games. Whether these accompanied the gymnastic games, or followed them, is not expressed in the ancient authorities. Players on the salpinx were honoured with a prize from the time of the 96th Olympiad. Inscriptions on marble record the names of victors on the lyre. The performance on the former instrument took place near an altar by the entrance into the stadium. Here, too, the loud call of the heralds (κῆρυξ) was honoured.

That other sorts of emulous trials took place, such as scenic representations and the reading of historical works, is known from the life of Euripides (Olymp. 91), and of Herodotus (Olymp. 81); but Böekh shows that, in all probability, these were held outside the Altis in the *σκηναί*.*

A palm was awarded to every victor (*φοίνικος ἔρνος* or *ἔλαος*), but it was not till the sixth day, that is, by accurate calculation, on the 21st or 22d of July, that the true prize, the olive-wreath from the sacred tree, was given: that prize which was the object of anxious, jealous eagerness; for which princes were rivals; and which abundantly outweighed the tripods, the caldrons, the splendid garments, and all the richest prizes of the elder heroic age, by the fame it conferred on a family, a city, or a state. Prizes.

For after the name of the sacred victor (*ἱερονίκης*) had been proclaimed aloud (*ἀνάῤῥησις*), and crowned by one of the Hellanodicæ with the beautifully-wreathed olive branch (*ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος*); after he had been conducted, magnificently clad, through applauding crowds, and had been honoured like a god by assembled Greece, his companions and friends met in the evening within the sacred enclosure; and there, with procession and banquet and song, celebrated that victory which was their common glory and triumph. Scolia, and songs of a simple kind, suggested by the inspiration of the moment to the friends of the hero; or traditionary odes of victory (such as are mentioned as having been Honours of the victors.

* Expl., p. 201.

composed by Archilochus) crowned the glories of these evening feasts after the conclusion of the games.

Still more solemn were the festivals with which the victor was received on his return to his native place (εἰσέλασις). Cities which laid claim to a connexion with him through his ancestors vied with the place of his actual birth or residence, in their preparations for his reception; and festal songs hailed the pride of the land wherever he appeared. So fervid was the enthusiasm, that in some places the inhabitants tore down their walls, because a city which had nurtured, and which possessed, such a champion, needed no other defence.* At every anniversary of the games at which the wreath was won, the victory was celebrated anew in his native place. Feasts were given at which the triumphs of their hero were sung and represented by the chorus, although a long period might have elapsed since his victory.

Pecuniary rewards.

But besides these high and honourable rewards, the value of which has been made conspicuous to us by the songs of Pindar, the olive wreath was not unattended by substantial advantages. Among these were immunity from all public burthens, ἀτέλεια, in the widest sense of the word; at least long before the time of the Emperor Julian: pecuniary rewards, which were expressly determined at Athens by the laws of Solon, who decreed five hundred drachmæ to the Olympic victors: maintenance, which a decree of Trajan calls *annonaria commoda*:† festal banquets in the Prytaneum: statues, with or without inscriptions (which, however, in Pindar's

* Plut. Symp., ii. qu. 5.

† Plin. Ep. x., 118.

time were not as yet very common). After three victories, these statues were portraits or effigies of the victor himself (εἰκόνες ἰσομέτρητοι, *iconicæ statuæ*).

The festive tastes and habits which distinguished the Greeks, secured an honourable perpetuity to these sacred games, through all external changes of government. Even in Nero's time, the renown which a victory at Olympia procured was an object of desire and ambition to the ruler of the world. And in the time of the Emperor Julian, they were solemnized with great pomp.* The celebration of the games continued through an unbroken series of 293 Olympiads, till, towards the end of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, this institution of Paganism shared the common destruction. Yet so familiar to the minds of men were the manners, the language, and the religious rites of the Greeks become, that the writings of the Fathers of the church are full of allusions to the Olympic customs, which were now applied to Christianity. The end of the Olympic games may be dated at the 395th year after Christ. The complete list of the victors is to be found in Ed. Corsini, *Dissertationes Agonisticæ*.

Duration of the games.

We shall not pause to describe the Olympic games, which several Grecian and Asiatic cities (Smyrna, Antioch, Dium in Macedonia, Alexandria, and Athens) established under the same name, and on the same model, but shall turn to the Pythian; the games which approached the most nearly in importance and in reputation to the Olympic. Their origin may probably be traced to the concourse

Pythian games.

* Juliani Ep. pro Argivis.

of persons resorting to the Delphic Oracle. They were subsequently restored,* after the Amphictyonic war,† on occasion of which all Hellas united under the conduct of Clisthenes of Sicyon, and of Eurylochus the Thessalian, when the Cirrhæans and the Craugallidæ had imposed on the visiters to the oracle extortionate harbour-dues and other exactions. What at an earlier period had been merely a contest of Citharœdi, now became a regular musical Agon, at which the visiter received, not as formerly, a laurel crown, but a pecuniary reward (*ἀγὼν χρηματίτης*). But at the very next celebration (Olymp. 49, 3) this prize was again exchanged for the wreath (*ἀγὼν στεφανίτης*); as Böckh shows in the passage just referred to. The scene of these games was Pytho, the loftiest part of Delphi, which rises on three stages or terraces, and *Ἀπολλωνία νάπη*, the middle part of the city; both at a short distance from the temple.‡

The celebration was in the Delphic month Bysius (which, like the Athenian Munychion, falls at the time of the vernal equinox), every third year of the Olympiad. In the month Bysius the Delphic Oracle gave its responses; about the same time the Amphictyons, by whom this solemn festival was instituted, met at the Delphic sanctuary.

Whether the games lasted one day or more, it has been impossible for Corsini, with all his erudition and acuteness, to discover. The variety of the sports, however, leads us to conjecture the latter. At the restora-

* Ol. 48, 3. Böckh, Pind. Expl., p. 207.

† Ol. 47, 2. ‡ Böckh, Expl. ad Pyth. v. p. 286.

tion of the Pythian games (Olymp. 48, 3), the flute, and song accompanied by the flute, were introduced in addition to the singing to the cithara. In short, the contests were nearly the same as at Olympia, with the exception of the quadriga. The only game in which boys were admitted to share was the foot-race twice through the course, and then over the long course (δίαυλος and δόλιχος). At the second celebration, however, the contest of flutes was discontinued, and the chariot-race introduced. In the eighth Pythiad we find the contest of flutes alone, unaccompanied by the voice—*assis fidibus*.

Gradually, therefore, we find the whole cycle of Agones which are mentioned as in practice at Olympia; but the predominant characteristic of the Pythian games continued to be music. It is an important fact, that, as Pliny informs us,* even in the time of Phidias, a trial of painting took place, in which Panænus bore off the prize. The Amphictyons, of whom we shall speak more at length hereafter, were the judges. The cessation of the Pythian, probably contemporaneous with that of the Olympic games, was subsequent to the reign of the emperor Julian.

The Nemean games are said to have originated in the funeral games in honour of Opheltes, at the time when Adrastus and the other chiefs undertook the expedition against Thebes. But Böckh remarks, on the conclusion of Pindar's eighth Nemean Ode, that festal games had existed there anterior to that event, and that even then the Hymn was not wanting. The place of celebration (after

Nemean games.

* H. N. xxxv. 9.

their restoration *) was the Nemean grove, not far from Cleonæ in Argolis, and from Phlius, where was a sanctuary of the Nemean Zeus. Notwithstanding this restoration, which, considering the flourishing state of the Achæans at that period, might have been expected to raise these festivals into high consideration, we have no list of the Nemean games before the 72nd Olympiad, when the battle of Marathon gave great weight to every thing that had any relation with Zeus the Deliverer. At that period they became more magnificent, and were resorted to by a greater multitude.

The games were of the usual kind; the Pentathlon, and other gymnastic matches. They were originally under the direction of the Cleonæans, from whom they were wrested by the Argives before Olymp. 53, 1. About Olymp. 80, the Cleonæans recovered possession of the management. They were celebrated twice within the space of an Olympiad; once in summer, in the fourth year of every Olympiad, on the 12th day of the Attic month Metagitnion; and once in winter, in the second year of each Olympiad, near the close of winter.

They were not, like the Olympic and Pythic, pentaëteric, but trieteric. Julian, in the passage so often quoted, mentions them as existing in their antient order, in his time. In memory of the origin of these festivals—funeral games instituted by Doric captains—the prize continued to be a wreath of green ivy, which, after the battle of Marathon, was held to have a reference to that mournful day.

* According to Eusebius this was about Ol. 53, 1 or 2.

A mythic origin was also attributed to the Isthmian games. They were said to have arisen out of the funeral games celebrated by the Ionians on the Isthmus of Corinth, in honour of Melicertes. Several restorations of them by Theseus and Hercules are mentioned; and according to the testimony of Solinus, they were not celebrated by the Cypselids. This is denied by Corsini, on various grounds, and especially because the laws of Solon decreed a hundred drachmæ as prize to the Isthmionieæ.* Isthmian games.

Although of Ionic origin (for which reason a place of honour was always assigned to the Athenians, and they were invited, even in time of war, to the games), they became Doric at a later period.

The Corinthians were the masters and givers of these games, which were trieteric. They were held once in the first year of the Olympiads, in summer; once in the third year of the Olympiads, in spring, or towards summer. Subsequently to the 49th Olympiad, they appear to have risen in importance. The scene of them was in the valleys of the Isthmus: ἐν ἐσλοῦ Πέλοπος πτυχαῖς, ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἰσθμοῦ, Ἰσθμον ἂν νάπος, as Pindar says.

Corsini's calculation of the day is founded on an error. The prize in the ordinary gymnastic games was, in the earlier times, a crown of the pine-tree (ἡ πίτυς); in the later, of ivy, which was afterwards again replaced by one from the pine-tree. Around the bough, a band (μίτρα, according to the scholiasts ταίνια) of yellowish wool was wreathed. According to other commentators, this was a piece of cloth like a handkerchief (ὡράριον),—the *orarium* of the Latins.†

* Ol. 46, 3. † See Böckh Pindar. Expl. p. 193.

The influence of these festivals on the assembled body of Hellenes must have been extremely powerful. Here, in the eyes of the Theori of the several states, the victor was invested with a glory which Cicero pronounces equal to the most brilliant triumphs of Rome.

But we should overlook or misconceive a multitude of other considerations, were we to regard these as the only institutions intended to effect that union among the conflicting elements of the Grecian people, to which Nature herself, and circumstances already alluded to, interposed insuperable obstacles.

Chapter IX.

Oracles—Oracle of Dodona—Selli—Oracular sounds and objects—Oracle at Delphi—Suppression of the ancient Oracle of the Serpent—Legend of Apollo and the Python—Oracular Chasm—Origin of the tripod—Its form—Castalian spring—Pythia—Manner of pronouncing the responses—Preliminary rites—Treasury—Origin of the wealth accumulated there—Office and jurisdiction of the Amphictyons—Decline and fall of the Oracle—Leagues or confederacies—The Ionic, Doric, Æolian, Achæan—Their influence on Greece—Amphictyonic league—Its origin—Members of the league—Business of its meetings—Its religious character—Its decline and fall—Privileges mutually granted by the Grecian States—Proxenia—Epigamia—Enktesis—Ateleia—Proedria—Inefficacy of all these Institutions to bind together the States of Greece—Hegemonia.

Not even the Oracles had power to harmonize and bind together the varied elements of the Hellenic nation, although that was the main object of those pronounced at Delphi. We can here treat of such only as were publicly recognized as standing in immediate relation to the religion of the country and of the state; not of the responses or oracles received in dreams, or uttered by the dead, or of those delivered by serpents, or those predictions concerning health, which the Greeks classed under the common name of jugglery (ἐπαγωγαὶ), and regarded as more or less unworthy of credit.

Even the Dodonean oracle in Epirus, near the Achelous,* cannot come under consideration here; since its importance so early declined, that all the writers quoted by succeeding grammarians concerning its most influential period, Dodonean oracle.

* Opinions are divided as to the fact, whether there were one Dodona or two.

could afford nothing more than conjectures.* It belongs exclusively to the oldest Pelasgic age of Greece. Homer, as we have mentioned at p. 105, makes this the haunt of the Selli (Σελλοὶ, Ἕλλοι), who as ὑποφῆται lived a life of rude (ἀνιπτύποδες, χαμαιεῦναι) and monkish austerity in these wintry heights. Herodotus expressly † relates the legend of the foundation of the shrine,—probably a small chapel close to the sacred oak. Yet he appears to indicate changes in the mode of communicating the oracles, by the introduction of two prophetic women (called πελειάδες), instead of the Homeric Hypophetæ.

The response delivered by metal basins suspended in the top of the sacred oak, and by a fountain which was periodically dry, seems posterior to Homer. The wall of brazen kettles and tripods belongs to a yet later period of the decline. These were disposed in such a manner that when one was struck they all continued to vibrate till one was touched. The priests were called Tomuri, from the neighbouring mountain Tomarus, or Tmarus. De Brosse has collected very accurate and complete details concerning the oracle itself.‡ Dodona was laid waste by the Ætolians in the Social War.§ After the defeat of Perseus (B. C. 168) fresh devastations were committed by the Romans, who overthrew in one day the seventy cities of Epirus, which, having no garrison, were unable to make any defence. The oaks were felled by an Illyrian robber. These rude and vague

* Heyne's Exc. ad Iliad. xvi., p. 288.

† ii. 54.

‡ Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. xxxv.

§ Ol. 140, 1.

oracular indications had long sunk in public estimation when compared with the uttered oracles.

The oracle of Delphi was Panhellenic in its object, and its tendency. It owed its importance to the natural peculiarities of the spot which led to its establishment; to the Pythian games, and to their relation to the Amphictyonic Council. According to the legend of the shrine, it was the earth itself which first delivered oracles (γαῖα πρωτόμαντις), guarded by the eldest of Fetishes,* the Serpent *(Delphinium)*. The locality near the present Castri between lofty mountains, which has been determined by Otfried Müller† with greater accuracy than by any other commentator, throws light upon the legendary histories of the first establishment of this oracle. The connexion between it and Themis was grounded upon the notion that the Divinity and the Divine Justice (Themis) were sensibly present in the place. Next we find prophetesses attached to the sanctuary (Phœbe). Lastly, the Lycian Olen who came from Delos to Parnassus: and as the oracle of the Serpent was now forcibly overthrown and suppressed (an event of which Apollo's fight with the Python is the type), religious games were founded in commemoration of this victory over the ancient fetish. Then first was the tripod erected over the hole or cleft whence issued the divine and inspiring afflatus, and was entwined with the old prophetic dragon (πύθων from πύθεσθαι),‡ Oracle of Delphi.

* The African term applied to local deities.

† Minyer. p. 404.

‡ The month βύσιος, or πύσιος, in which the responses were given, has probably the same etymology.

the guardian of this oraeular chasm.* This tripod, which (aeeording to Otfried Müller's acute investigation) the Delphian Apollo stole from his neighbour and brother, the Parnassian Dionysos, grew out of the three-footed pot or eauldron of primitive household use (*τρίπους ἐμπυριβήτης*), and gradually assumed a nobler form by sueeessive additions and improvements, till it at length beeame the resounding seat of the Pythia. The form of the Delphie tripod, assumed by Müller, is, three feet, or rather legs, supporting a eireular rim, within whieh hung a basin; and around them projeeting rings (*οὖατα*), upon which rested a diseus-like metal plate, whieh Müller takes for the Holmos (*ὁ τοῦ τρίποδος κύκλος*). The basin, or vessel, represented on the oldest monuments in the form of half an egg (e. g. on the base of the Candelabrum at Dresden), he takes to be intended merely for resonanee—the *cortina* of the Romans—the *ἄξων* of Nonnus—whieh was plaeed upside down in the other basin, only that it might give out a sound when shaken by the breath of the Omphai. The plaee where the oraele was delivered was ealled *ὄμφαλος*, from *ὄμφή* [and *ἀτμὸς*]† (whenee arose the saying of the navel of the earth). It was marked by a pillar, whieh at a later date was entwined with a serpent. Its exaet situation has been eontested. But the vagueness of the expressions used by the aneients, whieh have been eited in this eontroversy, may partly arise from the dim light of the sanetuary, whieh afforded even those who eon-

* This is the opinion of Böttiger in his Kunst Mythologie.

† This seems doubtful.—Transl.

sulted the oracle little opportunity of discerning objects with accuracy.

The inquirer who, after the sacrifices and other preparatory ceremonies, approached the adytum of Pytho, through the inmost recesses of which the Castalian or Cassotian spring flowed in a deep channel or gully in the rock, perceived a tripod of enormous size, divided from the rest of the temple by a stone wall, and standing directly over the chasm whence issued the powerful and cold stream of gas. In the Delphic month Bysius, about the vernal equinox, when the spring was at the fullest, the oracle was in its greatest vigour and activity. At other seasons it gave responses only on a particular day, once in a month. Near the tripod stood a laurel which the Pythia seized in her holy rage. It was first necessary to compel her, almost by force, to place herself on her awful and uneasy seat—uneasy enough, even though the statement of Origen, in opposition to Celsus,* that the Pythia was an Engastromantis,† should be rejected.

Rage is, indeed, scarcely too strong an expression for the excitement which the Phœbas displayed when she had drunk of the spring of Castalis, and bathed her hair in its waters; when, chewing leaves of the sacred laurel, with a wreath of which her head was encircled, she was constrained by the guardians of the shrine to ascend the tripod. Pythia.

The detached words which she uttered, accompanied by the ringing sound of the tripod, were placed in order by the prophets, and were written in hexa-

* iii., p. 125. † Or ventriloquist.

meters under the questions, which were always delivered in writing. The order of the interrogatories was determined by lot, and their admissibility, by numerous sacrifices.

Phemonoe is said to have been the first Pythia who delivered responses of this sort. At first, one Pythia was sufficient, but in a later age, so great was the resort to the oracle, that there were three who responded alternately. Their indispensable qualifications were, to be Delphians, to be fifty years old, and never, in appearance at least, to compromise their high and sacred character. We also find five ὅσιοι attached to the oracle. They were of the family of Deucalion, and held their office for life.

Treasury.

In earlier times the turn in which visiters approached the oracle was decided by lot. The privilege of receiving an immediate response (Promantia), was one of the dearly-bought favours granted to particular places or bodies of men. Rich gifts, or, at the least, cakes, laid upon the altar, were offered in token of gratitude for the responses which were held in the highest reverence up to the time of the Persian war. These offerings were the foundation of the riches which, before the great fire in the 58th Olympiad, were kept in the brazen treasury. After the rebuilding by the Alemæonidæ, the votive offerings and the gold and silver vessels (χρυσοῦ γύαλα) were distributed among the several treasuries in the town. There remained, however, such vast property in precious gems, in land, and in slaves attached to the temple (ἱεροδοῦλοι), that the Amphictyons specified the care of the treasures and of the temple as one of the main and fundamental objects of their league.

But to this care of the sanctuary and its treasures was almost necessarily attached the duty of making provision for general want or distress. For when the oracle had drawn together strangers from all parts in great multitudes; some attracted by superstitious desires and hopes, some by the savoury steam of the sacrificial hearth; when jugglers and sleight-of-hand players were enticed to the pylæa (πυλατίδες ἀγοραὶ); the Amphictyons gave to their deliberations the higher and larger character of Ecclesiæ (also called συνέδρια), to which every man present, even every stranger, was admitted. These must necessarily have had the beneficent effect of securing to the Delphic sacrificial rites and lustrations reverence and faith from Greeks of every tribe and state; since the participation of all in the sacrifices and festal rites is even better ascertained than their share in the decisions of the council. Amphictyonic Ecclesiæ.

Hence, more particularly, must those expiatory usages have been widely diffused which mitigated the insatiate vengeance for blood: for the decision, whether a murder were expiable or inexpiable, lay with the penal court of the Delphic lords and princes. This tribunal enforced the Pythian decree (Πυθίῳ ψήφῳ), according to which every offender against the sanctity of the temple was hurled from a lofty rock. Delphi was, therefore, the focus of Greek civilization and humanity,—the *meditullium sacrorum Græciæ;* and all the purifications enjoined by the ritual of religion emanated from thence, and were diffused over the world of Greece, and afterwards of Rome. Expiation.

The temple of Delphi was, by the common consent of all Hellenes, an autonomic shrine, of which

the Amphictyons and the popular assembly of the Delphians were the sole guardians. But, according to Homer,* the Phocians laid claim to this guardianship; and, in consequence of the party divisions of the several Greek states, they were occasionally, in spite of vehement opposition, so fortunate as to obtain it.†

This want of unanimity alone would suffice to explain, how it was that the influence of the oracle on the political life of Greece was so limited; and why its detached answers to detached, though important, questions, could be of little constant or universal utility; why it was often condemned to veil itself in obscurity and ambiguity (*αἰολόστομοι χρησμοί*); and why, in a later age, it probably merited the reproaches which, from the time of Demosthenes, were more and more frequently directed against it.

From the time of Crœsus it can no longer be regarded as exclusively appropriated to Hellenism. In gratitude for his rich gifts, the highest privileges, Promanteia, Atelcia, and Proëdria, (i. e. the most distinguished seat in the assemblies,) were granted to him and his Lydians; though the exclusive use of Doric Greek as the oracular language secured a permanent distinction to the Hellenes. Even anterior to the battle of Pharsalia the oracle fell into decay; in Juvenal's time‡ it seems to have been silenced by its poverty, as is mentioned by Strabo. But here, as elsewhere, the Emperor Julian laboured to restore the appearance of life to dead forms.

* Il. ii. 518. † As, for instance, Ol. 106, 2.

‡ Sat. vi. 555.

An institution from which more powerful effects were to be expected, in uniting the severed or hostile tribes of Greece, than were found to be produced by the community of festivals, was that of leagues or confederations; the κοινὰ, which, though they grew out of religious Panegyres, had for their object political deliberations and alliances. District unions of this kind (for they were always formed from the simplest territorial divisions) were under the direction of a council of the league (βουλευτήριον), sent as representatives (πρόβουλοι); or consisted of the whole body of the citizens.

Leagues, or confederacies.

The most remarkable among them were, the Ionic league, consisting of the twelve cities of Asiatic Ionia, the council of which assembled at the Panionion on Mycale: the Doric, which was connected with the religious rites celebrated in honour of Apollo on the promontory of Triopium: the Æolian, on the main-land, concerning the form of which less is known, whilst an alliance of the cities of Lesbos under the Proëdria of Mitylene appears to be often alluded to; and, above all, the twelve cities of Achæa united into one body, the confederate council of which, from its earliest commencement to the time of Pausanias, assembled in a grove sacred to Zeus near Ægium. There were also the Arcadian, the Ætolian, the Phocian; but all these confederations existed only for the purpose of consulting on the circumstances and measures common to all.

It does not appear that they had the power of carrying their own resolutions into effect. Nor could they so interfere with the internal administration of the several states, as to produce the consequence

which, with reference to the constituent members of the Achæan league, is boasted of by Polybius; who says that they would have formed one town as well as one state, had they only been surrounded by a common wall of defence. Too much latitude was left for the independent will of the individual states which composed the league, and which submitted to stand in a subordinate relation to each other only in times of great danger and for the sake of the good of the whole: and hence, too much room for the independent action of the several parts; as was shown in the Bœotian league at the time of the conflict with the Romans, to the destruction of all firm and durable co-operation or union.

But however inadequate were the results of such confederacies upon the legal and constitutional condition of the Hellenes, the forms of these combinations have the strongest claims on our attention. In them lay the germs of the process by which small circles or districts, gradually widening into larger, at length acquired the form and substance of one great national whole, bound together by uniformity of laws and institutions. Thus the Demoi, the districts and the cities of Thessaly, were severally independent. Yet the Demoi were united into tribes, the tribes again into four main nations, and the whole of Thessaly was comprehended within the league (*σύστημα Θετταλῶν*). That even this constitution did not suffice to establish any firm and lasting union, only proves how deep and potent were the causes of division.

Amphictyonic league.

Even the Amphictyonic league, which, in its wider extension, presented the same central point to all Greece as the *κοινὰ* did to the several

states, was not competent to bring about that union which, according to several considerable witnesses, was, from the time of Acrisius, among the objects of its care.* Originating in the administrative council of the Delphic sanctuary and the Panegyris which assembled there, it probably owed its earlier form to no design, and first acquired its more definite constitution from Acrisius the ruler of Argos. It is at least certain that those regulations which are mentioned by various historians were the work of several generations, and not of any single man. Its earliest institution had relation to those tribes which dwelt in and around Thessaly; and after the subsequent spread of these tribes, none but the nations which proceeded from them, or were reckoned as members of their body, had any share in their meetings.

Tittmann† has collated the very conflicting accounts of the ancients, and inferred from them the following twelve confederate States; Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnetes, Locrians, Œtæans or Ænianians, Phthiotic Achæans, Malians, Phocians, Delphians; all of whom first appear in a more distinct form after the Crissæan war. The delegates of the confederate states, called Pylagoræ and Hieromnemones, met (at least since Acrisius' time) twice in the year: in spring, in the pylæa at Delphi, and in autumn, at Anthela near Thermopylæ. They heard the proposals of the Hieromnemones, which related to the common care of the Del-

* Strabo ix. 3. (p. 420, ed. Casaub.) Dionys. Halic. Rom. Ant. iv., 25.

† Ueber den Bund der Amphictyonen. (On the Amphictyonic League). Berlin, 1812.

phic temple, the celebration of religious festivals and solemnities; to the maintenance of the allied cities, and the settling of all differences between them; to deliberations on affairs common to them all, and on their means of resisting their common foes. Originally each tribe had two votes: at a later period the states which belonged to each tribe exercised this right of voting alternately.

The collecting of the votes, ψῆφοι, was the office of a peculiar functionary, who, to conclude from one example, had likewise the right of summoning general assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι), which included not only the delegates, but all the citizens of the Amphictyonic states who happened to be at Delphi, either for the purpose of offering sacrifice, or of consulting the oracle. No distinct account of their functions or proceedings has, however, come down to us. Notwithstanding this extension of the Amphictyonic council, it never became, what many ancient writers thought they perceived in it, a really effective general council of all Hellenes—*Commune Græciæ Concilium*, as Cicero expresses it; since it wanted the power to give effect to its decrees, as was particularly shown in the sacred war against the Phocians, and against Amphissa.

Much which was formerly adduced in favour of its influential operation has been hastily ascribed to it from the ambiguity of the word ἀμφικτίονες (inhabitants of the country round about); and, on more accurate investigation, must be understood of the unions or combinations of districts. Its main character and tendency was constantly religious; the delegates assembled in temples; sacrifices and the worship

of the gods were connected with every meeting, and exclusion from the Amphictyonic meetings was followed by exclusion from the common sanctuary. Our information concerning several other of its effects on the internal relations of the several states, and on the intellectual advancement of its members, are in a high degree unsatisfactory.

Not less so are the accounts of the altered state of public opinion concerning it, and the decline of its importance, which were the necessary consequences of foreign domination and of the diminished celebrity of Delphi. The complete discontinuance of the Amphictyonic assemblies may be dated from the closing of the heathen temple and the abolition of the rites of sacrifice, which fall somewhat later than the reign of Theodosius and his sons.

Proxenia.

As one of the distinctions with which the Amphictyons rewarded the painter Polygnotus for his works at Delphi and in the Pœcile at Athens, Pliny* particularly mentions the right of Proxenia; another of the means by which the political wisdom of the Greeks sought to correct the general alienation subsisting between the component parts of the nation.

With the close of the Heroic Age the laws of hospitality underwent material changes. These, among other consequences, gave birth to a form of hospitality (*προξενία*), which was under the sanction of the state. One citizen henceforth undertook the duty of giving the natives of another state a hospitable reception in his own home, and of watching over their

* H. N. xxxv. 9.

rights and interests. If, for instance, a stranger died in a place where there was a Proxenus of his state, it was the duty of the latter to take all the necessary information respecting the property he left; and so on, reciprocally. The office of the Proxeni thus resembled that of our consuls and commercial agents; only with this difference, that the Proxeni generally belonged to the state in which they were charged with the interests of the foreigner. In a later age this Proxenia, which had its origin in voluntary hospitality (ἐθελοπρόξενος), acquired an extent little inferior to that of the right of citizenship. A peaceful adjustment of questions between states having mutual intercourse must have been one beneficial result of this institution; and, with the growing stability of political society, and the extension of those notions of justice which are its natural product, various other privileges were probably granted by allied states to their several members.

International privileges.

Such privileges, calculated on increasing intimacy of connexion, were, ἐπιγαμία,—the right of marrying a female citizen of a state which had granted permission to this effect to the subjects of another state: ἔγκτησις,—the right of acquiring property in an allied state; ἀτέλεια,—the exemption from tolls and other taxes, and more particularly the exemption from the tax imposed on a foreigner living under the protection of the state (ἀτέλεια μετοικίου); and, lastly, the full and entire rights of citizenship (πολιτεία, ἰσοπολιτεία), which presupposes the naturalization of the privileged person. Most of these privileges brought with them a reciprocal interchange. In case these advantages were to be attended with

circumstances yet more honourable to those on whom they were conferred, the flattering distinctions of the προεδρία, an honorary rank, were superadded; and foreign merit was acknowledged by the public expression of the εὐεργεσία, or recognition of desert.

But not even these ties were of sufficient strength: so deeply fixed was the aspiration after independence in each of the several states, and so intimately was it connected with the feeling of powers which might have ensured it to them, and which were fostered by continual feuds and wars. Prone to war from the consciousness of his vast and various means, from his love of adventure, of plunder and of dominion, the Greek could easily collect around him men of similar tastes and dispositions. But their alliance lasted no longer than till the end was accomplished. Thus were formed bands or companies, who associated sometimes for offence and defence (συμμαχία); sometimes for defence only (ἐπιμαχία). Out of these, however, as lay in the very nature of the thing, arose a predominancy of the stronger or the more crafty over the weaker, which ended in the complete destruction of all equality of alliance.

Disunion of Greece.

We allude to the Hegemonia, a convention of several states, for the purpose of carrying on a common war; to one of which the command was at first entrusted, but in which equality of powers soon became a mere shadow. For though the form was long respected, yet one member of the confederation soon raised itself above the others, and these, with more or less of coercion, submitted to its command.

Hegemonia.

Even before the wars with Persia we may descry

traces of this Hegemonian connexion. The idea of arbitrary domination was, however, not bound up with the Hegemonia till later; when the example which Athens had set, during her possession of the Hegemonia in this war, was only too exactly followed by almost all other members of leagues, whether great or small.

These unequal alliances are, therefore, as means of union, not deserving of attention. On the contrary, they, combined with various other causes, secured to every external foe a party in the heart of Greece, and, to every native malcontent, ample occasion for his disastrous attacks.

PART II.

HISTORIC AGE.

Chapter X.

Changes which followed the close of the Heroic Age—Decline of Monarchy—Rise of Oligarchy—Political condition of the people—Political effects of public prosperity—Struggles between nobles and people—Political elegies of Theognis—Causes which accelerated or retarded popular struggles—Distinguishing marks of citizenship—Condition of Slaves—Condition of Foreigners—A conception of the civil condition of Greece to be derived from a survey of the Institutions of Sparta and of Athens.

The period in which a constitution ordered by process of legislation grew out of the state of society prevailing in the Heroic Age, differed in duration in the different states of Greece. The civil relations peculiar to the Heroic times could, according to the laws by which the progress of society is naturally governed, find no continuance in the period which immediately succeeded the migrations; when foreign bands bound by no tie of habit or of common reverence for their prince, had combined together; and when their inevitable dissensions forced upon them the thought that predominancy over the mass could, of right, belong only to the most eminent and virtuous among them. Hence personal prowess obtained a complete preponderancy. In the case of the less considerable princes, either the monarchical power was entirely set aside, or was subjected to limitations.

From these natural and inevitable changes of the old state of things, the power fell into the hands of the nobles, whom we find in all the

Rise of Oligarchy.

states as descendants of the most ancient races of kings, or heroes, or founders of states (κτίσται); as, for example, the Codridæ and Melanthidæ in Athens, the Bacchiadæ in Corinth, the Aleuadæ in Larissa, &c.; always enjoying great consideration as landed proprietors, (the Gamori and Cleruchi,) and distinguished to the eye by a peculiar and more splendid armour (the Hippeis). Upon this nobility now devolved the plenitude of those rights which it had heretofore shared with the king; and in order to secure these to itself, without interference or check from the people, all matrimonial alliance with the latter was stamped with reprobation.

People. The people had no share in the government, and were in a state of dependence in which we shall have to remark several degrees.

But no foresight can, for a long continuance, preserve an unbroken barrier between nobles and people, in a state developing itself under favourable external circumstances. Wealth does not remain the exclusive and inalienable privilege of the landed proprietor; for every individual of the mass derives some share of advantage from an improved cultivation of the soil; and, with competence, a desire for civil rights and for some political powers awakes even in the most oppressed; and, when once awakened, grows. The nobility (εὐπατρίδαι, εὐγενεῖς) could not maintain the exclusive possession of their privileges without wealth; and the people (δῆμος) no sooner acquired a consciousness of their own opulence and importance, than they began to be impatient of their exclusion from a share of those privileges.

Hence arose fresh fermentations of the public mind;

struggles between the nobles and the people, (as, for instance, the attack of the Plontis in Miletus, upon the lower classes, who so vigorously retaliated—the Chiromacha;* and the conflicts of the Gamori with the people at Syracuse,)† till at length the adverse claims of wealth and nobility, of Timocracy (ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν) and Aristocracy, were decided by legal agreement. Struggles between nobles and people.

It was not till the century anterior to the Persian war that this struggle began.‡ Its effect, too frequently, was to clear the ground for the introduction of Tyranny, i. e. the annihilation of the incomplete form of republicanism by the strong hand of some daring and energetic man, who knew how to acquire absolute dominion over all the rival parties and pretensions, and often, to transmit that dominion to his descendants.

A very remarkable monument of the mutual hostilities of the nobles (ἀγαθοὶ—*nobiles*) and the people (κακοὶ), at the period we are speaking of, has come down to us in the political elegies of Theognis, whose complaints are those of a Megarian aristocrat, in the strictest sense of the Poetry of Theognis.

* Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. 32. states, that after the dissolution of the tyranny at Miletus, two political clubs or parties were predominant, called πλουτὶς and χειρομάχα; that the aristocratic party prevailed, and, having retired to their ships, they settled their plans; and that, after they returned, they were called ἀσπαῦται. If this explanation is true, it supports πλουτὶς from πλέω. Müller, (Dorians, vol. ii. p. 8.) however reads πλοῦτις, understanding the party of the rich.—*Transl.*

† Wachsmuth, vol. i. p. 158, n. 8.

‡ Timocracy at Agrigentum was before the time of Phalaris, Ol. 53. 4.

word.* Theagenes was tyrant of Megara in the 42nd Olympiad. After his expulsion, demoeraey was predominant; and being, as usual, enfeebled by arbitrary caprice and excessive license, was overthrown by the nobles whom its oppressions had roused to a revolt, which ended in the defeat of their opponents. Oligarchy was now re-established; but was onee more eompelled to give plaee to demoeraey. Theognis wrote during the demoeratieal period, which, after the seeond destruction of the aristoeratieal power, lasted till Olymp. 89, 1. Theognis was banished with his party. He afterwards returned and was reinstated in the possession of his property. But the sight of the plebeian upstarts was a eonstant mortifieation to him. He deseribes them as living ostentatiously on the partitioned estates of the nobles (*ἀναδασμὸς*); seizing on all those plaees and offiees of honour to whieh none but men of high birth (*εὐγενεῖς*) had hitherto been eligible, and intermarrying with the daughters of noble houses.

All these were, to him, so many indignities offered to the nobles; his "Warnings and Lessons" are therefore full of bitter eensure of the present, and of sueh forebodings as have been heard again in our own days from the voiee of legitimaey.

Causes of popular Struggles.

This sort of struggle of the Demos to obtain a share in the full rights of eitizenship would of neeessity arise earliest there, where, as in the maritime eities, the people, dwelling within the same walls with the higher elasses, earried on trade, navigation, and manufaetures; above all, where the warlike power was mainly naval; where

* Refer to the valuable Introduction in Welcker's edition of Theognis.—*Transl.*

continual contact with the working classes was inevitable, and where more rapid gains were the natural result of industry.

The struggle of the Demos would arise more tardily where agriculture formed the basis of the various relations of society; where the ruling class dwelt apart in the citadel and the city immediately surrounding it; while the people, living scattered about in the circumjacent country (περίοικοι), were distinguished from serfs only by personal freedom, paid taxes like them, and enjoyed no importance or consideration as citizens.

Distinguishing marks of Citizenship.

The privileges which distinguished the citizen from the serf, even under these circumstances of less obvious disparity, were, his position before the public tribunals, his right of holding landed property, and of participating in the assembly of the people; though in this he was probably, as in the Homeric times, a mere hearer.

Slaves.

Slaves, in almost all the Hellenic states, consisted either of the older inhabitants of the country, who had been subjugated and reduced to servitude, or of such as had been acquired by purchase. According to the views of the most humane politicians of antiquity, individuals of these classes could have no other destination than that of performing the lower and more toilsome offices of life, and thus leaving their masters free to pursue their nobler occupations.

Foreigners.

We must not omit to mention the condition of the foreigner, who, except in the infancy of states, was most frequently excluded from the rights of citizenship by precise regulations, and was in general rather tolerated, than invited by con-

cessions or marks of favour. If any privileges were granted to him, they were generally calculated on the supposition of a permanent residence, which rather imposed duties than conferred rights. The Metœci were permitted to settle in Athens, where they lived under the protection of a peculiar officer, the Prostates. Equality of civil rights and duties was granted to the Isoteleis, but intermarriage with them was forbidden by law, in order to prevent their acquiring influence. Generally speaking, the ancients were rather intent on getting rid of the superfluous population of their towns by means of colonies, than on increasing the number of citizens by the reception of new settlers.

The information which we have to communicate on the internal constitution of the government and civil condition of Greece during this period must unavoidably be drawn from individual examples. It appears suitable to the scope of the present work, and the best mode of making that constitution intelligible to our readers, to offer a short survey of the institutions of Sparta, in which the political existence of the Doric tribes is displayed as in a mirror. This survey embraces a sketch of all social institutions; since here, as in almost all the Hellenic states, the purely moral powers of man were interwoven with those which are the offspring of law; and the citizen, trained in reverence and obedience to the laws, had adopted a rule of life which served as a basis for all social order, and for the whole constitution of society, and came in aid of the defects inherent in all public institutions.

A description of the civil and political life of Athens, conceived in a similar view, will follow.

Chapter XI.

SPARTA.

Changes which succeeded the end of the Heroic Age—Lycurgus—Character of his legislation—Dorian conquerors of Sparta—Their institutions—Their rigid separation from the original inhabitants, the Lacedæmonians or Perioeci—Condition of the latter—Helots—Cryptia—Dissensions among the Spartans—Oracle on which the institutions of Lycurgus were founded—Gerusia, or Senate—Mode of election, and functions of the Senators—Power and dignity of the Kings—Alia, or assembly of the People—Ephori—Their power—Subordinate magistrates—Principle of equality maintained by the partition of the land—Law of succession and inheritance—Syssitia, or public mess—Spartan diet—Iron money.

In Lacedæmon, as in other Hellenic states, the inadequacy of institutions which had been handed down from old times, or had been the offspring of the exigencies of the moment, had begun to be felt. Attempts had elsewhere been made to obviate the consequences of these institutions, established without plan, and put together without coherency, on the spur of instant necessity. With a view to allay the discontents caused by the oppressions of the despot, or by the feuds of the governing class, in some cases Æsymnetæ (i. e. rulers whose unlimited authority was voluntarily submitted to for a time), in others, arbitrators (διαιτηταὶ, καταρτιστῆρες, διαλλακταὶ), who were empowered to adjudicate and decide on the claims of contending parties, had been appointed. The new

order of things could of course be established only by changing that which had hitherto prevailed; and it is equally clear that, where tranquillity and order could not be attained by the gentler path of restoration, it was necessary, as a means of securing unity, to have recourse to some one man, in whose justice, uprightness, and wisdom, all had confidence, and to commit implicitly to him the construction of the new and the modification of the old.

Lycurgus.

In this manner did Lycurgus, a mythic personage, become the framer of the legal constitution of Sparta. Although the age in which Lycurgus lived is somewhat doubtful, although tradition has somewhat embellished the history of his life and deeds, yet it is impossible altogether to deny his existence. His code of laws, if we may so denominate what was merely a mediation between the hostile parties of the Spartans, and the two royal families with their adherents, was little more than a renovation of institutions inherent in the Doric form of government. But the Hellenic custom of ascribing to an individual lawgiver, from whom divine aid was seldom withheld, what was in fact the work of long forgotten authors, or the gradual growth of time, was favourable to his renown; and transferred to his name the institutions which had acquired new force from the reverence with which he was regarded, and had gradually sprung from the germs which he had called into life.

This renovation of the primitive Doric form of government (the *τεθμοὶ Αἰγιμίου*) was no less favourable to the reception of his projects which en-

countered no forcible opposition, than was the circumstance that they were imported from Crete, and were said to be recommended by the oracle of the Delphian god (πυθόχρηστοι), under whose perpetual protection the entire fabric of the state was placed.

Three classes of persons, divided by rigorous civic distinctions, constituted the population of Laconia. The line of demarcation between them was founded on historical events. Division of classes.

Doric Heraclidæ had established themselves in the country, and, as conquerors, had vexed and oppressed the earlier inhabitants, the Achæans, together with the Ægidæ and the Minyæ who had joined them. All the inhabitants of the cities around Sparta were, at the last victorious invasion of the Heraclidæ, isonomous (i. e. equal before the law); but, after the non-Dorians had, in consequence of treaties, emigrated, the Dorians, whose numbers were undiminished, (the colony which peopled Tarentum being the only one which had left them,) were more than ever incited to make themselves masters of the country. Even under Agis, son of Eurysthenes, the Dorians succeeded in subjugating the natives of the soil, in depriving them of isonomia, and imposing tribute upon them as a condition of their retaining their lands. Doric Heracleids or Spartans.

The Dorians, congregated in the city of Sparta, thus obtained the sole enjoyment of the rights of citizenship, at the expense of all the other inhabitants of Laconia. They were distributed, according to an extremely ancient division, into tribes (φυλαὶ), on the number of which, however, opinions are still divided.

There have been various opinions with regard to the number of the Spartan Phylæ or tribes:* the best founded is that of Müller, who, proceeding mainly on the Homeric epithet τριχάϊκες, supposes that there were *three;* the Hylleis, the Dymanatæ, and the Pamphyli. These Phylæ were again subdivided into Obæ, (ὠβαὶ, i. e. οἶαι, districts or wards of a city,) which were also called Phratriæ,—a name which seems rather to point to brotherhoods connected by ties of consanguinity, or by those of a common guild or trade. There were thirty of these Obæ (ὠβαὶ), which acquired importance and influence from the circumstance, that all appointments to public offices originated with them; and the organization of the popular assembly depended upon them. The other gradations of rank among the Dorie Spartans, who regarded themselves as essentially equal in dignity and before the law, were not fixed in the very roots of society. They were, the Homœi (ὅμοιοι) and Hypomeiones (ὑπομείονες), the distinction between whom was mainly personal, according to Aristotle. Within this circle, including all Doric Spartans and rigorously excluding all strangers, must be comprehended the two royal houses, (of the Phyle of Hylleis,) the stainless purity of whose descent was vigilantly guarded. And, indeed, from the time the Dorians had become lords of the country, they had kept kept themselves aloof from the conquered race with the utmost rigour of aristocratical exclusiveness.

The Laconian inhabitants of the circumjacent

* See, on these different opinions, Thirlwall's History of Greece, vol. i. Appendix I.—*Transl.*]

towns, stripped of their equality before the law (ἰσονομία), and compelled to pay tribute; degraded by their conquerors, on the avowed ground of their Achæan extraction, to the rank of Periœci (περίοικοι), enjoyed personal freedom, but, as a body, were subject to the Spartans. It is still matter of discussion, whether they appeared at the popular assemblies: that they exercised no decisive influence in them is more clearly made out. The Periœci (Laconians), as heavy armed (ὁπλῖται), or as light armed troops (γυμνῆται), fought together with the Spartans for their common country; and, in time of peace, every trade and handicraft was open to them, whilst, until the introduction of the Achæan form of government, these were expressly forbidden by law to the Spartans.

Lacedæmonians or Periœci.

Widely differing from these Periœci in their civil position, although that which they occupied had been determined by similar historical causes, were the Helots, originally the inhabitants of the town Helos, who had defended their isotimy against the Dorians with singular pertinacity and bravery; and, being at length conquered by the victorious Spartans, under Soüs, were reduced to a condition of slavery, which has afforded matter for much rhetorical declamation. The derivation of the name Εἵλως from Ἕλως, both by earlier writers and those of our own times, has indeed been doubted, and the learned historian of the Dorians inclines rather to derive it from Ἕλω; according to which etymology, it would signify, prisoners who have been vanquished with their swords in their hands. But Göttling, in his commentary on Aristotle's Politics, has adduced gram-

Helots.

matical reasons for preferring the signification unanimously adopted by the writers of antiquity.* The name was afterwards applied to all Spartan slaves, whose lot seems to have been determined by ancient and fixed usage to be that of inalienable property of the state. They were slaves, but slaves of the state, not of the individuals to whom they belonged in common with individual portions of land; nor could they be sold out of the country even by the government. They were attached to the soil, out of the produce of which they paid tax, not, like the Laconians, to the state, but to their masters. Others fulfilled various of the humbler public employments. They also followed their lords to the wars as squires, (θεράποντες, also called in Sparta ἐρυκτῆρες,) and waited on them at table, and served as common sailors in the fleet. Their dress was the primitive dress of the country; a sheepskin (διφθέρα), worn by way of garment, and a dogskin cap (κυνῆ). It is related, as a proof of the privation of all rights in which the Helots passed their lives, that the more strong and well made among them received blows, for no other reason than that their appearance bespoke more than became a slave; that they were compelled to get drunk, and to perform indecent dances, in order to excite in the Spartan youth disgust at such exhibitions. The fact that the duties of Pedagogues, or tutors of Spartan boys, were intrusted to them, renders these assertions little credible.

* See the Cambridge Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 45. where the subject is further examined, and Müller's explanation defended.—*Transl.*

It appears, however, more difficult to defend the Spartans from the reproach of cruelty against them, which is implied in the word cryptia (κρυπτεία). For, according to the best testimony, this was a yearly massacre of the Helots, perpetrated during the day and night by the Spartan youth, for the sole purpose of thinning their numbers. Passages in the first book of Plato on Laws, however, seem to prove that this κρυπτεία was nothing more than an exercise of the warlike youth of Sparta, who were made to scour the whole of Laconia, armed; partly with a view to inure them to hardships, partly for the sake of inspecting the extensive country, and at the same time the condition of the scattered Helots, who were probably exposed to much ill-treatment in the remoter parts. Though we must receive many representations of the lot of the Helots as either greatly exaggerated, or entirely false, yet it is incontestable that it was one of hard slavery; tempered, however, by a prospect of the freedom from which they were not excluded by law. Helots who were foster-brothers to young Spartans, and brought up with them, received their freedom, but without any rights of citizenship (Mothones, μόθωνες; or Mothaces, μόθακες). Men of this class, as is still seen in countries where slavery prevails under its harshest forms, generally succeeded in advancing themselves by dint of audacity. Those who were completely emancipated were called ἀφέται; those honoured with peculiar confidence, ἀργεῖοι. Neodamodes (νεοδαμώδεις) were those who had been for some time in the enjoyment of freedom, and existed in considerable numbers.

The necessity for the conciliatory legislation of

Dissensions among the Spartans.

Lycurgus arose not so much from any dissensions between these three classes of the population of Laconia, as from the disunion we have already alluded to among the dominant Spartans. His new organization of the commonwealth would, therefore, necessarily have relation more especially to them, and it appears probable that he paid little attention to the situation of the two other classes.

A declaration of the Delphic god contains the fundamental principles of the measures by which he reconciled the rival claims.

Delphic Oracle.

"Build a sanctuary to Zeus Hellanios and to Athene Hellania; divide the Phylæ, and form thirty Obæ; establish the Gerusia with its princes (ἀρχαγέται); call together at stated periods the assembly of the people (ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν), between Babyca and Cnacion, and here bring forward propositions and make objections; but with the people (δάμῳ) be the decision and the power (κυρίαν ἦμεν καὶ κράτος)."*

Gerusia, or council of Elders.

This command of the god (ῥήτρα), which gave a sacred foundation to the newly consolidated structure, points out as the foremost instrument of union, the establishment of the Gerusia (γερουσία, or γερωνία); a senate, or council of elders, which the genuine Doric veneration for age would have recommended; if, indeed, a body of elders, acting as counsellors to the prince, could have worn the appearance of a novelty. This council, composed of nobles selected for their merit from among

* See Müller's translation, Dorians, book iii. ch. 5. § 8.

the Heracleid aristocracy, consisted of the two kings, who acted as presidents, and eight-and-twenty elders, at least sixty years old, on whom this dignity (ἀρχή) was conferred as the reward of a spotless reputation. The office was held for life, and they were called to no account for their performance of its duties.

Plutarch, in the life of Lycurgus, relates, that the election of the individuals who were received into the council in the place of those who died, was conducted according to a singular custom, which prevailed up to the time of the Peloponnesian war. During the sitting of the assembly, certain men chosen for the purpose were shut up in a neighbouring house, where they could neither see nor be seen, but could hear the noise of the assembled people. The respective candidates were taken according to lot and led in silence through the assembly. The concealed judges marked on tablets which of the successive shouts of approbation, announcing the reception of candidates, were the loudest and most animated. It was competent to any man to whom the appointed age, acknowledged respectability and honourable birth furnished the requisite qualifications, to become a competitor in this greatest of all agones. The name of him who had excited the most vehement applause was proclaimed aloud. He was then crowned with a garland, and proceeded to the temple of the gods, followed by a long train of youths and women, who celebrated his renown and lauded the purity and dignity of his life. His relations prepared a feast for him before he proceeded to the Syssitia. There he set apart the half of the provisions, and when, after the

Mode of Election.

repast, the women of his kindred were met together, he called those whom he held in the greatest honour and distributed the viands among them.

The functions of the council of elders were, to concert beforehand all the measures which were to come before the assembly of the people, and to arrange them in a formal proposition (Bill—*προβούλευμα*); to direct the administration of the state generally; and, as supreme court of justice, to decide on the highest matters, especially on all those in which life, or the rights of citizenship, were at stake. In their judicial decisions they were aided by the Ephori.

Whether the kings, like the other senators, had one vote in the assembly, or two, is a question which has of late been frequently mooted, and has received different answers from different writers. Among the latest of these, Göttling* has endeavoured, in opposition to Tittmann, to establish the right of the kings to a double vote, from a passage in Herodotus.† He assumes that the princely Phyle sent two kings to the Gerusia, who had an hereditary seat there; and, besides these, an assessor,‡ whom he supposes to have usually been elected as Geron. In the absence of both kings, the right of voting for both devolved on this Geron, who had then three votes.

Power and dignity of the kings.

In obedience to the Delphic Rhetra, the two kings were necessary members of this senate. The regal dignity was hereditary in the elder sons of the families of Eurysthenes and

* On Aristotle's Politics, p. 468.

† VI. 57.

‡ Göttling supposes ten Phylæ, each of which sent three members out of each Obe. (See above, p. 168.)

Procles. According to the manners of the Homeric age, the providing of the public sacrifices (twice in a month), as priests of the Laconian and celestial Zeus, together with the nomination of the four Pythii, whose office it was to ascertain the will of the Delphic god, and upon whom rested the whole weight of authenticating the oracles, were intrusted to them. They were also the leaders or generals in time of war (ἀρχαγέται in the Delphic Rhetra), which insured to them great authority without the boundaries of the state; until the extension of the power of the Ephori degraded the kings into the class of state-officers, and reduced them, even in their capacity of commanders-in-chief, to that responsibility which they had imposed on all other public functionaries.

Royal privileges.

The privileges of the princes were, as in the heroic times, lands yielding a moderate revenue in the territory of the Perioeci; a dwelling in the city; tribute of sacrificial cattle and hides; the place of honour at the public table; and, at their death, solemn obsequies and a ten days' mourning in ashes (μιαίνεσθαι), and with loud lamentations. To these funeral rites, the Spartans, Perioeci, and Helots, summoned by mounted messengers, all repaired. During the days of mourning, the successor to the royal dignity did not enter upon the exercise of his office. At the expiration of this term, and after a meeting of the council, the new king took possession of the vacant throne The deliberation was probably on his identity, which was most carefully watched over, the Ephori being always present as witnesses of the queen's delivery. If any doubt arose, the Spartans (ἡ πόλις) decided. If the king fell in

battle and the body were missing, funeral honours were offered to his picture or statue.

As judges, the kings decided on all cases regarding the hereditary nobility and the laws of adoption. They had also the care of the high roads.

Their power was by no means unlimited. Like other public functionaries, they were responsible. A monthly oath that they would govern according to the laws, to which the people responded by a promise, made through the Ephori, of inviolate obedience to their authority, so long as they observed that oath, materially limited the honours attributed and piously paid to them in the heroic age; and even religion, while it sanctified, restricted their power. Every ninth year, the Ephori watched the heavens during a whole cloudless and moonless night, in profound silence. If a shooting star fell, it was received as a proof that the kings had disobeyed the gods, and their authority was suspended till they had been purified by an oracle from Delphi or from Olympia. Even in their foreign relations, in which they enjoyed greater freedom, a jealous watchfulness impeded their steps.

Assembly of the people.

Next after the establishment of the Gerusia and the royal authority connected with it, the Delphic oracle, which Lycurgus adopted as the basis of his legislation, had directed the assembly of the people, which, at a stated time, (the full moon of each month,) was to be held in the open plain between the brook Cnacion and the bridge Babyca, in a place where neither rows of pillars nor stately buildings could distract the attention. The spot was probably to the west of Sparta, where Œnus was afterwards situated. The common name for the popular meet-

ings was ἀλία, though the name ἐκκλησία seems to have been in use, as also ἡ πόλις, which latter is peculiarly remarkable, since it expresses the exclusion of the Perioeci. It is, however, clear, that in the case of a meeting suddenly called, these inhabitants of the country could not have been collected. It appears that every citizen, that is, every Spartan, was admissible from his thirtieth year, unless he had been deprived of his right by law; but the public officers (τέλη, ἀρχαί), especially the Ephori and the kings, had the exclusive right of proposing measures. The people gave their decision by a shout of approbation or of disapprobation. Originally restricted to the right of accepting or rejecting what the kings proposed, the public assembly probably early extended its powers by altering and perverting the measures submitted to it. Hence the rule ascribed to Theopompus and Polydorus, a hundred and thirty years after the death of Lycurgus, that if the people came to an erroneous conclusion (σκολιὰν αἴροῖτο), the Gerontes and the kings should be empowered to avert its consequences; and should therefore be authorised to dissolve the assembly, and thus to annul the decision.

The decision of the people (ὁ δᾶμος), who, though wanting the right of originating laws, could at least prevent any from passing against their will, was also indispensable in questions of peace and war. Negociations with foreign states, though conducted by the kings, were valid only when sanctioned by the people. All high officers of state were appointed by the assembly of the people; new laws and alterations in the commonwealth were approved by it; and the emancipation of the Helots in any considerable num-

ber could be granted only by the people whose joint property they were.

Ephori.

Presidents or overseers of villages and markets seem to have existed from the remotest antiquity among the Hellenes; and even in Sparta, the introduction of them, under the title of Ephori, was anterior to the time of Lycurgus, to whom their institution is ascribed. It is not probable that Lycurgus did more than give additional stability to the consideration they enjoyed, which, enhanced as it was after the time of Theopompus, rose still higher during the Messenian war, in the absence of the kings and the majority of the citizens; till at length it was fully equal to that of the Roman tribunes of the people, and extended judicially even over the kings. Whether the number of these overseers of markets was originally ten, as Göttling supposes, and was not reduced to five till the time of Theopompus, is not yet determined. In Aristotle's time, however, we find five Ephori who were chosen from the people without regard to wealth or rank.* How they were elected is not clear. They were renewed yearly, and were responsible only to their successors; whilst all public functionaries, with the exception of the

* Göttling's supposition is founded on an article in the Platonic Lexicon of Timæus, which states that there were five superior and five inferior Ephors. There can, however, be no doubt that the five inferior Ephors were added at a late date, when the sphere of the Ephors, duties had been greatly enlarged, and that the original number was *five*, which occurs in writers earlier than Aristotle. Thus Xenophon says, that Pausanias, the Spartan king, before the taking of Athens, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν, Hellen. ii. 4. 29.—*three* being the majority of *five*. See the Cambridge Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 51.—*Transl.*

Gerontes, might be summoned before their tribunal. Even the kings, as officers of the state, were subject to them; and they had the power, in cases of necessity, of arresting them, like other magistrates, without convoking the assembly of the people, and of bringing them to trial for life or death. In this supreme court, the Ephori were the accusers. They had power to punish by fine or by stripes. They could inflict the latter even on the kings—for example, Archidamus was flogged for marrying a woman of extremely small stature. To pronounce sentence of capital punishment was not within their competence.

Their power of convoking the assembly of the people, and of proposing laws, (which had probably first received the assent of the senate,) gave them peculiar importance. As the organ of the Ecclesia in the management of all negociations with foreign states, and in the conduct of war, they also enjoyed a decided influence. The treasury too was under their guardianship; and it is probable, that with the growing aggrandizement of the state, their power was extended in various ways which could hardly be foreseen in the simple times of Lycurgus. They entered upon their office on the first day of the Laconian year, at the autumnal equinox, and in all public acts the year was called after one of them. They commenced their official operations with an edict which ordained the κρυπτεία, and which contained the extraordinary requisition to cut off the mustachios (μύστακα κείρεσθαι), and to obey the laws. They watched over the condition and conduct of the Ephebi and the Helots; and since their functions generally were those of a police, their supervision extended to the morals of the

citizens, and even to music. The ἀρχεῖον, in which they dined, and in which strangers were hospitably entertained, was the place of their daily sittings. A temple dedicated to Fear, which stood hard by, was calculated to impress the citizens with sentiments of awe.

But a Spartan institution, not intimately connected with religion, would not have harmonized with Spartan notions and sentiments. And, accordingly, besides the sacrifices in the temple of Pallas Chalcioecus, which it was incumbent on them to furnish, it was also one of their duties, at certain appointed times, to dream in the temple of Pasiphaë at Thalamæ, and a political signification was affixed to their dreams.

In short, as the active and ever-wakeful principle in the government, their powers were unlimited: and this was the more necessary, since there were no written laws by which the personal ambition or vanity of individuals could be restrained within due bounds. But there were circumstances in the constitution of their body which led them to adopt foreign institutions. These, with the lapse of time, necessarily destroyed the native order of things; and even Aristotle found the authority of the Ephori enfeebled.

Magistrates.

The comprehensive and varied powers of the Ephori threw into the shade those of the other magistrates, many of whom were, however, included with them under the common name τέλη.*

We find mention of the following:—

Nomophylaces, so called after their office, which

* Τέλη, i. e. persons who act in virtue of a τέλος, a full authorization, (τέλος equivalent to κῦρος).

was to superintend the games and gymnastic exercises of the Ephebi, and, in early times, the surgeons, or dressers of wounds, who had their houses of business in the market. With the Nomophylaces were associated five Bidiæi.

The Pædonomos, whose business it was, as his title sufficiently implies, to watch over education.

The Harmosyni, of whom we find sometimes five, sometimes three, were guardians of the morals of the women.

Five Empelori maintained the police of the markets.

The Harmostæ were lieutenants of the state in cities which were virtually subject to Sparta.

The Polemarch conducted the war department.

The Buagi were leaders of the bands of the Ephebi.

By the so called Lesser Assembly (ἡ μικρὰ καλουμένη ἐκκλησία, οἱ ἔκκλητοι) we are to understand a general council of state of all the public officers, whose collective operation is occasionally perceptible. It is not impossible, indeed, that it determined to a considerable degree the tendency of the Spartan government: which unquestionably was, to keep the many under the direction of the few, and to inspire the citizens with respectful deference for the ability of those whom the state had distinguished by its confidence, and whose birth and education afforded presumption of their worthiness.

Such a tendency is justly called aristocratical. Nevertheless, there lay in this government a principle of equality, which, resting on institutions of Doric origin, found a permanent support in the national manners. One of these

Principle of equality in Sparta.

institutions was the equal and immutable partition of the land.

Partition of land.

In accordance with the usual custom of conquerors, the Doric Heraclidæ had partitioned out the soil of Laconia; declaring it to be the immediate property of the state, or the property of individual free Spartans, or land to be held by the conquered Laconians on condition of paying rent. To the former, which was probably different from the portion allotted to the royal families as crown-land or domain, all Spartans had an equal claim, as they had also to the forests over which the public had reserved a right of chace. Some principle must have governed the allotment of the portions assigned to individuals; perhaps it was founded on a valuation of the produce. But this original equality of property underwent a change with the lapse of time, and in order to restore it, Lycurgus divided the πολιτικὴ χώρα, the central part of Laconia, (bounded by the Taygetus to the west, to the north by Pellenë and Sellasia, and reaching to Malea on the east,) into nine thousand equal lots (κλῆροι), according to the number of the existing households (οἶκοι). These allotments were tilled by Helots for the Spartans dwelling in Sparta, and in the κῶμαι, or villages, which were afterwards incorporated with Sparta.

The land which remained after this partition was divided into small allotments (also called κλῆροι) and distributed among the Lacedæmonians. These allotments amounted to thirty thousand, each of which, tilled without the help of Helots, barely furnished food for the cultivator and his family, after payment of the portion deducted as rent.

But it was easier to make this division, which involved injustice only to the conquered Perioeci, than to discover expedients by means of which the results of it could be insured. To this end laws and manners must co-operate; and accordingly both concurred in determining that each allotment should be indivisible and inalienable. Thus, in each household, there could be but one heir, probably the eldest son; who, however, was charged with the maintenance of the other members of the family, unless they were provided for out of the rent paid by the Perioeci. Law of inheritance.

That the numbers of heads of families, who were at the same time holders of allotments (ἑστιοπάμονες and ἐπίκληροι), should not decrease, was the care of the state and the religious duty of individuals. The going out of the fire on the paternal hearth, as a sign of the desolation of the house and the extinction of the race, was, to the ancients, a thought full of horror: gods and men were thought to have an interest in averting such a calamity; the gods of the race, that they might not lose their sacrifices; men, that they might not be deprived of the honours due to the dead. The perpetuation of his race was, therefore, a duty of every citizen; and not only was the man who persisted in a life of celibacy visited with disgraceful punishments, (the δίκη ἀγαμίου, the consequences of which were the being ignominiously stripped naked in winter, contemptuous treatment in old age, and exclusion from the Gymnopædia,) but the state watched over all the means of securing a healthy and vigorous progeny (whence the δίκη ὀψιγαμίου, and the δίκη κακογαμίου). A man who had no hope of issue

was authorised by law to resign his bed to another; or one whose wife was not attractive to him, to solicit the wife of another. Even in war, a man who had no son was excused from service.

But in spite of this solicitude for the maintenance of families, their perpetuity was not completely secured; for a marriage might be fruitful in daughters alone. In order to provide against this contingency, the early laws of the country decreed that the heiress should convey to her husband, on her marriage, the possession of the hereditary estate. (She was ἐπίκληρος, or ἐπιπαματίς.) Where there were sons in a household (οἶκος), the daughters, according to the ancient laws, received no dowry (δωτίνη) on their marriage. This restriction was removed by a subsequent alteration of the constitution. At first, their portion consisted only of money and chattels; at a later period, of land also. But whenever the hereditary estate fell to a daughter, the family enforced their rights. The kinsmen (ἀγχιστεῖς), without whose consent the father could decide nothing, laid claim to the disposal of her;* and according to the law of inheritance, one of them was entitled and bound to take her to wife. He was, as may be imagined, a younger son, who had inherited no allotment. But the children who were the fruit of this marriage belonged to the house (οἶκος) not of the father, but of the mother; they were considered as heirs of their maternal grandfather. Where the kinsmen who should marry the heiress had not been selected by the father, the selection was left to the king.

* The nearest kinsman is called by Aristotle in respect of this right, κληρονόμος.

Where there was neither son nor daughter in a house, recourse was had to adoption before the king (*υἱοθεσία*); and if this precaution for the securing posterity to an *οἶκος* had been neglected, the elders of the family had then the power of appointing one of the same race as heir. It was the constant care of the commonwealth that two allotments should not fall into the hands of one individual; and they were equally careful that no allotment should remain uninherited. Hence it recognised as heirs, children begotten by slaves on women whose husbands had fallen in battle before they had fulfilled this duty of a citizen. Such *ἐπεύνακτοι* (begotten, according to the expression of the Old Testament, to raise up seed to the dead) were regarded as their heirs. Adoption.

Concerning a multitude of questions and doubts which are suggested by the maintenance of this artificial equality, antiquity has left us without a reply or solution. How, for example, the state indemnified those citizens who lost their allotments at the loss of Messenia is yet a riddle.

A complete change in the constitution was introduced by the Ephor Epitadeus (before Aristotle's time) out of resentment against his son, by a law enacting that every man might transfer his house and land to whomsoever he would, whether during his life or by will. By this system of voluntary alienation, the whole of this structure, so artfully contrived, was undermined from its very foundations; though the dismemberment and sale of an hereditary estate was long regarded with great contempt.

But the equality, so anxiously and laboriously aimed at, could not have been maintained without

other institutions, affecting the daily life of the citizens, and calculated to deprive wealth and luxury of their attractions. Such was the common or public table at which all the men ate; an institution endeared to them by old national customs.* Not even the kings were exempted from the necessity of dining at them. Equal portions were prepared for all from the equal contributions which were levied upon all, viz.: one medimnus† of barley-meal, or of shelled barley (ἄλφιτα); eight choës of wine; five minæ of cheese; two and a half minæ of figs and dates; and ten oboli,‡ for the purchase of flesh meat, per month. The mere account of the provisions is sufficient to show that a sort of community of goods, rather than any social enjoyment, was the object of this arrangement. In Aristotle's time, inability to furnish these contributions excluded a man from all public offices.

Syssitia, or public tables.

The celebration of a sacrifice, or fatigue from the chace,§ were the only excuses admitted for absence from the table. It is not said where the Pheiditia were held. Plutarch mentions that the company at each table consisted of about fifteen men; which would give, for nine thousand Spartans, about six hundred tables. No new members could be admitted into these smaller companies but by unanimous election. Little bits of bread thrown into a vessel (κάδδος), which a servant carried round on his head, were used instead of balloting pebbles. If there was

* In Crete, where this custom also obtained, these tables were called ἄνδρια; in Sparta, φειδίτια and also συσσίτια.

† Æginetan measure. ‡ Currency of Ægina.

§ Hence the day on which this occurred was called ἀφίδιτος ἡμέρα.

only one piece pressed out flat, (which was the sign of rejection,) the candidate was excluded from that mess. Little boys (under seven years of age) who still belonged to the Agelæ, sat on stools at the feet of their fathers, and were fed on smaller portions without spice or condiment. The fathers lay on benches without cushions,* and taught the boys to converse with gravity and to sport without indecorum.

As the degeneracy of a later age introduced the indulgence of cushions on the benches, so its fastidiousness rejected the regulated diet, prepared by cooks of an hereditary guild or trade, as tasteless and miserable. It required Spartan endurance to eat it. Barley-bread (*μᾶζαι*), as much as each chose, boiled pork, and the celebrated black broth, (*μέλας ζωμὸς*, in Sparta commonly called *βάφα*,) formed parts of the meal; and it was probably on account of the homeliness of this fare that previous indulgence in dainties at home was forbidden. Vain attempts have been made to discover the receipt for the black broth: a passage in Plutarch (*De tuendâ Sanitate*) leads us to believe that vinegar and salt were ingredients in it. The testimony of almost all non-Spartans is, however, clear and unanimous on one point—that lovers of good eating have lost nothing by the ill success of these researches. Nor did the drinking afford any compensation. The one-handled *κώθων* of clay (likewise used in agriculture) was filled with wine mixed with water, which did but suffice to quench the thirst. Pledging each other, sending round the wine-cup, and all drinking parties, were forbidden. The old men

Spartan fare.

* This departure from Homeric customs is mentioned by Alcman.

alone found indulgence for a little debauch, and, most luckily, Spartan old age began at sixty.

Some compensation for the monotony of the dinner was found in the dessert, which was a voluntary addition (ἐπάϊκλα, as well as ἐπιδόρπια), presented by some individual as a gift from his own stores. When the cook brought it in, he always proclaimed the name of the giver. It consisted of poultry dressed as ματτύα, fish, game, lambs, fruit, cakes, and, later, of the numerous Spartan dainties which Meursius has collected.* The boys too were not forgotten in this second course. They had each a cake made of barley, baked in oil (κάμμα). When the Spartans wished to receive a stranger honourably, or occasionally to entertain the king, they celebrated a *copis* (κοπὶς). This was frequently held without the city, under tents, where the roast joints of the kids which had been offered in sacrifice, cakes of wheaten flour, called φυσίκολλος, cheese, and sausages, with dried figs and beans as dessert, composed the delicacies of the feast. As women were excluded from these entertainments, we may suppose that the jesting, which, according to Alcman, was interspersed with singing, was of an austere kind.

If, however, temperance is generally regarded by the ancients as an ancient Doric virtue, yet the institution of the Phiditia, which established it on so firm and durable a basis, seems not to have been received with any great good-will by the Spartans. According to Plutarch, it cost Lycurgus an eye, which Alexander struck out in the market-place; and if he really prohibited good cookery, as Manso thinks it allowable

* Miscell. Lacon. I. 13.

to infer from a passage in Plutarch,* Alexander's indignation is very intelligible.

The prohibition against travelling in foreign parts, the limitations of residence in other countries, and the sending away foreigners from Sparta, were all dictated by the feeling of equality which gave rise to the public mess.

For the same reason all trade was limited to barter; money was only used to adjust exchanges. In order that money might not become an object of desire for its own sake, Lycurgus commanded that it should be of iron, which was purposely spoiled for other uses by some application of vinegar. Plates of iron, as big as sacrificial cakes, and bars of the same metal of a cumbrous weight, were the substitutes for coin, which was not introduced till the time of Pheidon. The iron mines of Laconia were so extremely productive, that, according to Müller's calculation, foreign silver bore an incredibly high price.† Many have doubted, though without reason, that leather stamped with certain characters could have been current as a medium of exchange. The simplicity of all the relations of life, and the frugal, contented spirit of the people, rendered money of little worth.

Money.

* Instit. Lacon. 13.

† Dorians, vol. ii. p. 219. English Translation (book iii. ch. 10. § 9.)

Chapter XII.

Spartan education, by and for the State—Military service—Constitution of the army—Band of the Thirty—Band of the Three Hundred—Weapons—Discipline—Punishments of cowardice—Civilized warfare—Gymnastic training—Spartan endurance—Warlike games—Doric harmony—The Pyrrhic dance—The Caryatis—Education of women—Marriage—Penal laws.

Spartan Education.

It was only by means of an education from which the Spartan, even in years of mature manhood, was not emancipated, (for up to old age he was liable to the chastisement of his elder fellow-citizens), and which was connected in all its parts with public life, that it was possible to produce that cheerful and resolute acquiescence in privations which pervaded every portion of existence. Education was therefore the most essential part of the legislation of Lycurgus—education, that is to say, with a view to the good of the state.

Immediately after the birth of a Spartan, the state, setting aside the rights of the father, decided* whether the child was vigorous and should be suffered to live, or was sickly or deformed (ἄμορφον), and should be exposed in the Apothetæ of Taygetus;† for the first of all requisites was, that the future citizen should have strength to bear the toils to which

* The decision was intrusted to the elders of the Phyle, assembled in the Leschë.

† Concerning this exposure, ἀπόθεσις, compare the passage of Plato's Republic, v. 9.

he was destined. No swathing clothes confined the body of the infant who had endured the trial of the wine-bath. Up to his seventh year the boy was left to gladden his parents with his infant playfulness; but though the education of the state, ἀγωγὴ, commenced at that early period, it did not loosen the ties of nature; on the contrary, their strength seemed proportioned to the rapidity with which they had been knit. Men, in full manhood, treated their mothers with respectful deference. But with the beginning of the ἀγωγὴ, the life of the Spartan citizen commenced. This political education was a privilege of the sons of Spartans, (the πολιτικοὶ παῖδες,) which only the Mothaces attached to them were permitted to share. Non-Spartans were indeed admitted to the lower stages, such as the δημοτικὴ ἀγωγὴ, but only he who had gone through the whole course of education, (τὰ καλὰ, according to the Spartan expression,) with all its hardships, acquired a claim to the full rights of a citizen. He only was an ὅμοιος. The immediate heirs to the throne were the only exceptions to this rule; the other sons of the kings were subject to it.

Agelæ.

In the Agelæ (bands, troops) in which the boy was received on quitting the parental authority, there were so many classes, that attention seems to have been paid to every power and every acquirement. The several names for the several ages between boy and young man, that is, between the twelfth and eighteenth year, σιδεῦναι, κωραλίσκοι, κυρσάνιοι, σκυρδάκια, give however but little accurate information concerning the nature of their occupations. In his eighteenth year, the youth

became Melleiren ; in his nineteenth, Eiren ;* and, in his twentieth year, πρωτείρης. The discipline which these elder youth enforced on the younger did not in the least degree liberate them from their responsibility to still older men, especially to the powerful Pædonomi, with whom, doubtless, the Mastigophori, or scourgers, were not associated in vain. On attaining their twentieth year, the young men became σφαιρεῖς ; but they still remained in the Agelæ, (also called in the Laconic dialect βοῦαι,) were under the superintendence of Buagi, and were again subdivided into lesser bands, called Ilæ, which, as may be inferred, were trained in horsemanship.

Military service.

The military service to which the young Spartan became liable, as soon as he had attained the age of bearing arms (the ἡλικία, which the Latins called *ætas*), may be regarded as a continuation of the ἀγωγή. This military service was incumbent on him from his twentieth (ἀφ' ἥβης) to his sixtieth year ; and since it compelled him to follow the army across the frontier, he was distinguished, during his term of liability, by the name of ἔμφρουρος. So long as this lasted, he did not dare to absent himself from Sparta without leave. The calling out the troops for actual service was the business of the Ephori, who decided up to what age the several divisions of the army should be called out, in the individual emergency. Thus, according to the laws of Lycurgus, the citizens were united by the same mutual relations in war which had connected them in peace. They messed together, as usual, ac-

* Εἴρην, which seems to signify a sort of overseer of others, ἕρανες ἄρχοντες διώκοντες, according to Hesychius.

cording to their Syssitia, Obæ, Triacades, and Enomotiæ, and fought together classified in the same manner.

The Enomotia (ἐνωμοτία) sprang from a deep-rooted sentiment which we may detect in various Doric institutions; from sensibility to public opinion (αἰδώς).* It was, as the name implies, a band bound together by oath,—wedded, as it were, by the most sacred of ties. As being the smallest division of the army, it was a body easily put into motion by itself, and formed the basis of the more intricate military evolutions; since the Enomotarchs could at any time put all these smallest sections of the great whole into equal and simultaneous motion. The Enomotia stood in file in the phalanx; at its head, as leader (πρωτοστάτης), the Enomotarch. In battle, from whatsoever side danger arose, the Enomotarch, or the Uragus, (that is, the man at the other extremity of the file), could instantly meet it by altering the position of the file and presenting a new front (παραγωγαὶ). Such movements are the λόχος ὄρθιος, παραγωγὴ ἐπὶ κέρως, παρ' ἀσπίδα, εἰς μέτωπον, παρὰ δόρυ, which Müller † has distinctly enumerated, after the commentators on the writings of Xenophon. Enomotia.

Two of the Enomotiæ, each of which, in Xenophon's time, consisted of thirty-six men, formed a Pentacostys; two Pentacostyes a Lochus, and four Lochi a Mora, which, accordingly, contained six hundred men. This last division was peculiar to Constitution of the army.

* Ἀλλήλους αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας. Hom.

† Dorians, book iii. ch. 12. § 3.

Sparta. The entire levy of the male population capable of bearing arms, or all the ἔμφρουροι, were classed into six Moræ. The greater number of years the levy embraced, the more numerous was consequently the Mora, which, besides Hoplitæ, comprehended horsemen, and other infantry arranged in bands according to age. The number, however, of the army incessantly varied, and indeed the concealment of it was one of the Spartan arts of war.

Each of these bands was commanded by its own peculiar chief—Pentecosters, Lochagi, Polemarchs, whose authority, however, was acknowledged only by the division immediately under his command. The commander-in-chief was one of the kings, (in early times both,) the leader of the first Mora. His council of war was composed of the above-mentioned subordinate officers, whose appointment, therefore, probably depended upon him.

He was surrounded by a numerous retinue (Demosia), to support his double dignity as prince and priest of the host. Besides his tent comrades, the Polemarch, the Pythians, and three Homœi, he had about him the victors in the sacred games, and the officers of state, who decided with him on the administration of public affairs. There were, likewise, the Laphyropolæ, and (after the Peloponnesian war) the Ephori, who regulated the distribution of the spoil, and the Hellanodicæ who settled all disputes. In his twofold character, the king was attended by physicians, soothsayers, flute-players, and volunteers. Every expedition and every council of war was preceded by a sacrifice. A priest, called the fire-bearer (πυρφόρος), carried before

Damosia.

the army a burning brand, which was kept always alight, taken from the altar in Sparta on which the king had offered sacrifice to Zeus Agetor, and again at the frontier, to the same divinity and to Pallas (Hellania). Droves of sacrificial oxen always followed the march.

Besides this Damosia, the band of the Thirty, the picked men of Sparta, and lastly, in less distant expeditions, the proud band of the Three Hundred (*οἱ τριηκόσιοι*), chosen out of the Eirenes, were under the more immediate orders of the king.

Band of the Three Hundred.

The latter were individually selected by three of the Ephori, called Hippagretæ, who were bound to give precise reasons for their choice. Although Hoplitæ, they were called *ἱππεῖς*, probably because exercises of horsemanship, or festal meetings on horseback, were connected with their service; at least the name *ἡνιοχαράτης*, during their training, appears to have belonged to them. Generally, however, the horse-service, for which the more wealthy citizens furnished armour and horses, was held in comparatively small respect; it was left to those who were inferior in strength and bravery. But of this band of the three hundred, five of the oldest and most experienced were yearly discharged from service, and, as *ἀγαθοεργοί*, were for a year longer honoured with commissions from the state.

The body of the army was preceded by the Sciritæ, lightly armed, as befitted their service as scouts. The relation in which the body of Periœci (who took part in the war as Hoplitæ) and light troops (*ψιλοὶ*) stood to the levy of the Spartans, is not accurately

known. Only in times of extreme neeessity, and then probably as freedmen, Helots also served as Hoplitæ. But as arehers and slingers, and as armour-bearers to the Spartan Hoplitæ, they frequently followed their lords in considerable numbers.

Even the right to bear the more honourable sort of arms was determined by eivil distinetions. The heavy shield, marked with a Λ, whieh was to be resigned only with life; two spears, one shorter and one longer, and the short sword for elose fight, were the weapons of the Spartan warriors; but in the spear, and the manner of wielding it, lay the eause of their taetieal superiority. The lighter offensive weapons, whieh, even in the Homerie times, were appropriated to the squires of the heroes, were also abandoned by the Spartan to his Gymnetes and Psili.

Weapons.

Rigid diseipline, the soul of war, was required by the παϑαρχία; and obedienee was sometimes enforeed even by blows. But the joy in the hardly-won vietory, the readiness to die for eountry and laws, eould have been only produeed by deeply implanted moral sentiments, and henee the portion of Spartan legislation whieh regarded the produetion of such sentiments, merits more espeeial attention. The system of Spartan taeties was calculated not only on punetual obedienee to the orders of the ehiefs; the shame and the fear of appearing to betray weakness of mind or body before the eyes of equals were also brought into aetion. The results we know. The Enomotiæ, mentioned above, afford suffieient proofs of them.

Moral causes of superiority.

Where prineiples and feelings so profoundly im-

planted conspired to render the death of the brave beautiful and glorious, there was little need of the motive of contempt for him who quitted his post, or fled from the field of battle. In Crete, however, this contempt was showered almost to excess on the head of the coward. For, while the body of the fallen brave was decked with wreaths; while general mourning and solemn obsequies awaited him, and a monument near the temples of the gods transmitted his name to posterity, the coward who had fled from the battle * was excluded from all public employments, and was degraded to the lowest place in all public games and choral processions; the young men did not rise from their seats on his entrance, and families refused to intermarry with his daughters. If he had children, no one would aid him in their education; while a half-shorn beard and a sordid garment marked, even at a distance, the outcast whom no man would willingly allow to kindle a fire from his hearth. If he had thrown away his shield—if he were a ῥιψάσπις—he was sometimes punished with death. He who surrendered himself prisoner lost all claim to public employments, and was restricted to trade, but probably only for a short time.

Infamy attached to cowardice.

In the midst of all these incentives to bravery and spirit, the restraining and moderating power of law, which banished from the fight all ferocity and cruelty, is most worthy of admiration. As soon as the victory was won, the pursuit of the enemy ceased. All fighting was suspended when the signal for retreat was given. To

Civilized mode of warfare.

* The comic writers have a peculiar word for this, τρισᾶς from ὁ τρίσας.

strip the fallen was not allowed till after the battle. It was deemed unbecoming to hang up the arms of the conquered in the temples of the gods; though it is indisputable that they were cast into votive offerings, such as tripods and statues.

Mode of carrying on war.

War itself made little change in the daily habits of the Spartan. He lived in the camp nearly as he lived in Sparta, for Sparta itself was like a camp. The state provided a tent and the necessaries of life for none but the king and his immediate followers; all others were left to take care of themselves. Gymnastic exercises were not suspended, and the public mess prevailed as usual; and even when the discipline was least strict, the Polemarch prescribed to the troops the time for breakfast, and for rest on their arms. Pæans enlivened the mess, and Tyrtæus' elegies, sung alternately with them, inspired the hearers with confidence of victory, and with readiness to die. With their hair carefully bound around their heads, (as was the custom of most of the men of Laconia,) crowned with wreaths, and clothed in red garments which concealed the blood flowing from their wounds, they rushed to battle, when the song of Castor was played upon flutes as the signal for attack,* and exulting confidence in their personal strength broke forth, even in joyous pleasantries. But it was only in a country where bodily strength was an object of such extreme care and reflection, that the fight could acquire the artistical form of a noble exercise, far removed from the wild ferocity which distinguishes barbarians. That this calm energy was the object aimed

* Refer to Thucyd. lib. v. cap. 70; and compare Milton's Paradise Lost, book i. v. 549, &c.—*Transl.*

at, is to be inferred from several distinct accounts which have come down to us concerning the gymnic education of Sparta.

In the exercise of the bodily powers, the methodical development of which formed an essential part of the education of a Spartan boy from his seventh year, less attention was paid to the increase of mere brute strength, than to that which must ever remain superior to it,—the cultivation of address, and of sound and equable vigour and energy. Love for whatever called into action the physical powers of man was native to the Laconian people (φιλογυμναστοῦσι Λάκωνες). Yet Lycurgus had forbidden the boxing-match and the Pancration, on the strange pretext, that the holding up the deprecating hand which put an end to the fight was unseemly; but in reality, because he held that those exercises only ought to be established, which, uniting the desired εὐεξία with an equal and regular development of the bodily powers, would be more applicable to the demands of real life, than to the exhibitions of the arena. Even the Hoplomachia, a more stately game, with the too highly honoured weapons, was hence banished from the Gymnasium, where running and wrestling were cultivated with peculiar assiduity; and the art of throwing the antagonist by means of the skilful application of strength, and by promptness and steadiness of eye (the κλιμακίζεσθαι), was carried to singular perfection. But, perhaps, the strongest proof that the full consciousness of innate strength was developed in a surpassing degree by the Spartan gymnic training, is the aversion of the nation for the arts of siege and fortification (πυργομαχεῖν), which seemed

Gymnic education.

to them to betray distrust in the means of defence afforded by personal strength and valour.

A wreath was the only prize awarded to the victor in these conflicts; in order, as it was alleged, that no man might be led to make a trade of the cultivation of his strength. It was with a view to confirm the powers which had been unfolded and matured with so much care, and to put them to a prolonged trial, that Sparta's lawgiver instituted the forementioned Cryptia.

Another means of hardening the boys was the driving them out of the Homœi, and compelling them for a time to wander about the country, living, as we might say, from hand to mouth,* i. e. taking for their support what, indeed, in time of need, Spartan might borrow from Spartan without difficulty. The articles which it was allowable thus to take (cheese, fruit, &c.) were determined by law. The boy who was caught in the attempt might also lawfully be flogged and driven away fasting. In this petty warfare, the boy was thus trained to dare and to suffer; to lie in wait, and to be on his guard, by day and by night, as the hunter and the soldier must learn to do; nor was he to allow the Laconians to slumber on their lands in the security of undisturbed possession.

But more than can be required of human endurance and self-denial seems to have been exacted on the altar of Artemis Orthia, in the bloody scourging (the *διαμαστίγωσις*), concerning the origin of which,

* The original says, "Living, according to the old knightly phrase, out of the stirrup (aus dem Stegreife),"—a more noble and appropriate expression than ours, certainly, but one which would have been hardly intelligible to the English reader. This phrase is now commonly used for anything extemporaneous.—*Transl.*

various traditions were current among the ancients. Almost all of these connect it with the primitive religious rites of the country, and describe it as a substitute for abolished human sacrifices. Xenophon alone seems capriciously to trace it to another source; perhaps with the view of giving a fairer colour to an institution which was repugnant to his feelings.

Martial exercises.

More direct and appropriate preparatives for war and battle were gymnic martial exercises; such as the fight of the boys in the Platanistas, an island near Sparta, formed by canals or water-courses, and shaded with plane trees. The youthful gymnasts prepared themselves for the combat by the sacrifice of a young dog in the Ephebium near Therapne. During this sacrifice, which took place in the night, they set two tame boars to fight, in the belief that he whose boar was victorious would be the conqueror. Shortly before noon of the following day, the Ephebi proceeded over the two bridges into the Platanistas, after the passage which each party should take had been decided by lot. Even in Cicero's time, the boys attacked each other, in default of all weapons, with cuffs and kicks, with bites and pinches, or fell on each other in dense masses, each party trying to drive the other into the water.

In this instance, Cicero's contemporaries had certainly laid aside those metrical rules, marked by the accompaniment of the flute, which had formerly distinguished the gymnic exercises of the Spartans.

Music.

Music, the second main branch of that complete education which comprehended the entire circle of intellectual culture, softened and regulated all the relations of life; accompanied the games of the Pentathlon, the hymns to the gods,

and the songs of victory. Music owed its earliest cultivation among the Hellenes to the Dorian race. Hence, Doric harmony (δωρικὴ ἁρμονία) was distinguished for its peculiar character, even at a period when only the Phrygian and Lydian could be brought into contrast with it. Müller, by his able and learned deductions from facts which he has compared, shows that Doric music was in a high state of culture even before the time of Terpander,* when the Lesbian musicians surpassed all others. They, therefore, were probably the authors of the distinction between the two other principal styles of music and the Doric, by which last they understood the mode of singing and playing then customary in the Peloponnesus. This music, congenial with the manliness and firmness of the people, retained its peculiar character of strength and severity, described even by the ancients as harsh and gloomy (*tetrica*, σκύθρωπος); but in this very character resided its power of exciting to high achievements, of elevating to constancy under toil, and to fortitude under suffering. The further back we carry our researches, the more we find that this music, regarded as the expression of a universal sentiment, was common to the whole people, and not the privilege of individual gifted artists. This ancient style, which, as it appears, was thrown into oblivion by the citharœdus Terpander, was probably first applied to the festal choruses, which, even in the populous (εὐρύχοροι) cities of Homer, were performed by the assembled people as thanksgiving for harvest and for the blessings of the earth. Chorus, in Sparta, continued to be the name of the market, or of one part of it, where

* Olymp. 26 to 33.

the whole people assembled for this ceremony. Such songs were probably accompanied by the Doric Phorminx, the number of whose strings Terpander increased to seven. The old Spartan music was further altered by the Elyrian Thaletas, who introduced the more elaborate fashion of the Hyporchema, and the songs at the Gymnopædia. For a long time this continued the established form, guarded by Spartan policy as essential to public morals.

In all these accounts we must never lose sight of the fact, that instrumental music among the Spartans was always adapted and subordinate to singing, and that the regulations which ensured its immutable character regarded not the songs, but the accompanying harmony. Song and dance, which were commonly united, adorned almost every incident of life. Even the awful steps to battle, and (when victory was denied) to death, were cheered by the sound of flutes; contrary to the usage of the other Greeks, who advanced to the combat without music, or only to the call of the Salpinx. It is probable that the ancient Cithara was drowned by the noise of the fray, and thence gave place to the more modern flute. The effect which their measures, *νόμοι*, produced in elevating the mind, had been perceived by the old Dorians, even at the time of the conquest of the Peloponnesus. Embaterion or Epibaterion (more accurately described by Athenæus as *ἐ ὁπλιον μέλος*) was the common name for this anapæstic nomos, which accompanied the march of the army. The most spirit-stirring was the Castorean (probably so called in remembrance of the Tyndaridæ, the constant patrons of the Spartan arms), which the king ordered the flute-players, who were of a distinct family, to strike up

when the army marched against the foe in close order. The Anapæstic, which was also the prevalent measure in the lost Embateria of Tyrtæus, gave to these melodies that peculiar rhythm which even in far later times had not lost its power.

Pyrrhic dance.

The time or beat of these melodies converted the march of the Spartans into a sort of dance, and approached in gravity and stateliness the Pyrrhic dance, that mimic representation of war, which it was part of the duty of every Spartan boy to learn after his fifth year. This dance, to which tradition attributed a most ancient origin,* presented a perfect picture of warlike prowess and address. The motions of the dancer imitated the thrust of the sword, and the movement by which it was parried; the discharge of the arrow from the bow, and the cautious defence against it; the hurl of the spear, and the mode of turning it aside. The name of the dancer (πυρρίχης), which was also applied to the brazen-armed warrior, leaves it uncertain whether this were mere exercise for pleasure or practice for war (προγύμνασμα πολέμου).

From the intermixture of foreign religious rites, this martial dance elsewhere degenerated, especially in Crete, the country of its origin. In Sparta alone it remained true to its original martial form, of which we are enabled to gain some idea by an extant bas-relief.†

The lighter exercises of skill and agility which were taught in the Palæstra, without the aid of weapons, were displayed in the festal ranks of the Gymnopædia; in which, as in the dance called, from the union of virgins and youths, a wreath or ornament

* See Part I. p. 79. † Museo Pio Clementino IV. 19.

(ὅρμος), young men exhibited all the grace which suppleness of body produced by gymnastic training, combined with metrical precision, can give to dancing. At this festival, songs in honour of those who fell at Thyrea,* sung by naked boys crowned with wreaths of palm, Συρεατικοὶ στέφανοι, followed the representation of the Anapalè, in which the boys imitated all the various contests of the Pentathlon, by the motions of their hands. Thus did the festival seem specially consecrated to the honour of fresh and vigorous youth; and accordingly the youthful gods Apollo and Bacchus were hailed with pæans as patrons and associates of the sports. At a later period, the Pyrrhic dance and a chorus of men was added; and the variety and animation of the games, which significantly recalled the glory of Sparta, attracted a multitude of strangers, who were received with hospitable attentions. The celebration of this festival, which, however, was not rigorously confined to the same day, fell about the end of the Attic month Hecatombæon, and lasted, according to Schneider's conjecture, ten days. One of the punishments of old bachelors was that they were excluded from it.

Even the walk home from the wrestling ground and the game at ball, fashioned itself into a dance among these boys, rendered supple by every sort of exercise; and their youthful spirits converted a feat of strength and dexterity† into a dance, the Bibasis, which even girls did not disdain to practise.

What was the exact nature of the dance called the Dipodia can only be conjectured.

* Olymp. 58.

† The ἀναλακτίζειν, i. e. the striking the breech with the sole of the foot, so as to produce a noise like that of clapping.

Caryatis.

A more important question for the modern inquirer is the Caryatis, a choral dance of the Laconian virgins, annually solemnized in honour of Diana of Caryæ, in which, according to the representations which have come down to us, the tallest and most graceful stood in the centre of the circle as μεσοχόρος, holding upon her sedge-crowned head a vessel full of sacrificial gifts, or a basketful of flowers, whilst the others, hand in hand, moved around her in the chaplet of the dance. The peculiar beauty of this attitude, though described only in obsolete expressions of the older writers, did not escape the eye of those artists who seized on everything graceful. Groups of women, thus placed, are to be seen on many of the ancient works of art which have come down to us. Critics, however, have not dared to call them Caryatides, in consequence of a notion repeated by Vitruvius after some preceding writers, but involving a contradiction, that this name was applicable only to richly dressed female figures, used, by a perversion of art, as supporters of the beams of rooms. Böttiger, in an acute and comprehensive essay,* has restored to these wrongly characterised statues their true and original name, Canephori, and has solved the difficulty from which this notion arose. Castor and Polydeuces, as Lucian relates, taught the Spartans to dance the Caryatis and to move in stately measure. Nevertheless, a bas-relief at Paris, which exhibits nymphs in Doric garments looped up, with upraised hands as if they had been carrying something, seems rather to bear marks of vehement, almost Bacchic excitement.

* Amalthea, iii. 142.

According to all traditions, virgins graced the festal dances of Sparta with their presence. Nor were they strangers even to the gymnic exercises: for the future mothers of a race of heroes were to be matured for their high calling by suitable training. In the Doric robe, tucked up to the knee, they exercised themselves in gymnasia of their own, in running, (for which they were renowned,) in wrestling, in hurling the discus and the spear. Pugilism they certainly did not practise, as Manso has proved, in spite of the express testimony of Propertius to the contrary. It is possible that these exercises were not wholly confined to the schools; but there is an absence of all evidence that men were permitted to become spectators of them for mere amusement. The fact of the wrestling between young persons of different sexes, which has been so often asserted, is also unsupported by any contemporaneous witness. Training of women.

It is to be observed, that Doric manners which, to the rest of Greece (tinged as it was with oriental customs) had become so strange, that the later and more refined Athenians mocked at those very practices which had been in use among their own forefathers, were preserved in all their integrity in Sparta. Hence the old Hellenic dress of women, which was nothing more than the sleeveless woollen chiton, (to distinguish it from the Ionic fashion, also sometimes called the Himation,) was stigmatised, at Athens, as nakedness. It is true that it discovered more of the breast and of the legs than Athenian maidens were wont to display.* But this garment, clasped on both shoulders with brooches, joined down one side, and on the other fastened together from the shoulder

* Hence the jest of Ibycus, who called them φαινομηρίδες.

downwards with clasps, is a dress which we see on many statues, without being struck by its excessive scantiness. And in this, without throwing any Himation over it, the maiden performed all the domestic duties in her father's house; in this she was seen walking in the sacred procession, and singing hymns to the gods, and leading the choral dance. The Spartan virgin was not veiled; she walked in the company of youths, and was even permitted to witness their gymnic contests; while matrons, confined to the retirement of the house, seemed thus secluded only that they might reign there with greater dignity and decorum (*οἶκον εὖ οἰκεῖν*).

Deportment of Spartan youths.

The most striking contrast to this free deportment of the Laconian virgins was presented by that bashful modesty of demeanour which the Spartan notions of decorum prescribed to boys. With their hands concealed in the Himation, they were seen silently gliding along the streets, without venturing to look around them, and, according to Xenophon's expression, they were more timid than a maiden in the bridal chamber.

Influence of beauty.

Purposely, therefore, bringing the youths and maidens into nearer intercourse at solemn feasts and processions, the customs of Sparta conferred a real and important influence on female beauty. For the youth who could not hope for the much-desired triumph of her admiration must at least beware exciting her scorn. We may imagine how much matter for derision might be afforded by the exterior of these Ephebi, since, according to Ælian, the Ephori themselves esteemed it not beneath their dignity to regulate it. If the sordid appearance (*τὸ ῥυπoῦν*) of the hair and beard—an appearance which

was studied—degenerated into excess; if the Tribon, the sole garment of the boys who had got beyond the age of the Chiton, either trailed on the ground or were too short; if the hat of felt, which called to mind the hat of the Tyndaridæ, too deeply overshadowed the brows; and if the simple sandals (ἁπλαῖ), which distinguished the Laconians, were slovenly and slouching;—what weapon could be found so well fitted for the chastisement of such offences as the wit of sharp-sighted women? Nor indeed did they escape the railleries of the Athenian comic writers, who often made them a pretext for laughing at these formidable Spartans.

Marriage.

In consequence of this peculiar relation of the sexes to each other, love, resting on the firm basis of a healthy and regulated desire, and never losing sight of the great designs of nature, acquired a character of modesty and bashfulness, which displayed itself particularly in the intercourse of the husband and wife. It is true, marriage began by forcible abduction; for, as is now the practice among the Montenegrini, it was only by violence that a marriageable girl could become the wife of the man to whom she had been betrothed by her nearest male relations.

Yet this compulsion was the basis of an union which was not perpetuated by constraint. As soon as the young man had carried off the object of his choice, he took her to the matron who presided over the nuptials (*νυμφεύτρια*). Her hair was then cut off, a ceremony which rendered her formally a member of her husband's house (*μεσοδόμα*). The bridegroom meanwhile went as usual to the Pheiditia. As soon

as the repast was over, he stole away and went home to his bride, whom he found sitting in the dark, on a rush-mat, barefooted, and in the virile garment, the Chiton. Hence he bore her to the nuptial couch. But he was soon compelled to return to the public dormitory in the Ilæ, or Agelæ, and for a long time the common bashfulness of the lovers kept the secret of their happiness. Sometimes even children enhanced their stolen pleasures before he was permitted to take her to his own house. The conjecture of Müller is not improbable, that the children of mothers who remained in this apparent state of maidenhood were called Parthenians (παρθένιοι, children of virgins); while the children of unequal marriages, to which, even in Sparta, love often gave rise, were called bastards (νόθοι), as at Rhodes.

Violations of conjugal fidelity were very rare. Respect for woman formed the basis of a connexion the more honourable to her, inasmuch as it was the less to be expected from the austere and martial character of the men. The Spartan saluted his wife as mistress, δέσποινα, and even Aristotle calls the men, generally, women-servers.

It seems difficult to reconcile this sacred respect for the most intimate relations of life with that disturbance of them to which they were liable from the law.* But old and long usage, doubtless, reconciled the minds of men to their hereditary manners.

Punishments.

Infamy, ἀτιμία, such as was inflicted on unmarried men, and in the highest degree on cowards, was the severest of punishments. Lighter ones, adjudged by the Ephori, probably in cases of

* See p. 183.

quarrel and offence, often consisted merely in the fine of a dessert or second course at the Pheiditia. Injuries to private property were not remediable by civil or private process, but were punished and redressed directly by the state. Banishment was rarely used as a punishment (for to quit the country voluntarily was forbidden under pain of death), and ostracism was certainly not in use till a later period. Murderers, however, were sometimes compelled to emigrate by fear of vengeance from the kindred of the murdered. Even the kings were sometimes reduced to the same necessity by inability to pay fines imposed upon them by the Ephori. Imprisonment appears to have been used only as a means of securing the person of the accused during investigation, not as a punishment. Death was always inflicted in the night; either by strangulation with the rope in the Decas, a part of the prison, or by casting the criminal into the depths of the Cæadas.

Procedure.

According to Plutarch, there were no written laws in the earlier times; an inscription makes it appear probable, that, at a later period, some existed. In every case in which a civil action was permitted, the plaintiff himself brought his plaint before the court, if he was of the requisite age; otherwise his friend or relation appeared for him. Disputes were often accommodated by chosen arbitrators; in criminal and other public proceedings, it appears that a permanent and public officer brought the accusation or action, and the right of denouncing offences to this officer was permitted even to Helots.

Chapter XIII.

Religious worship—Expiation—Purification—Music—Musical instruments—Pæan—Union of song and dance—Hyporchema—Religious festivals—Mimic dances—Spartan humour and brevity of speech—Reverence for beauty—Art.

Religious rites.

In the part treating of the Spartan music and orchestic, no mention was made of the Pæan and the Hyporcheme, because they formed an essential part of religious worship, of whose peculiar character in Sparta we are now about to give a brief account.

The guardian deity of the Doric race was Apollo, who, under his various attributes, presided over the most varied relations and circumstances of life. Want of space compels us to refrain from going into an explanation of the legend upon which these various attributes were founded. Here, where Sparta is the immediate object of our attention, we must confine ourselves to what we learn from the writers of antiquity with relation to the religious worship of that country.

Apollo.

We have already remarked that the Delphic god, the conqueror of the Python, was the deity regarded by the founders of the Spartan state as Patron of the commonwealth. With him who, in his character of oracle, announces to men the decrees of Zeus, the whole constitution was placed in perpetual connexion, a connexion which had the

most decisive influence on its stability. Our readers will recollect what was said in a former place of the Pythii, and of the religious character with which the kings were invested by the god. Hence, so long as Sparta maintained her station at the head of the Hellenic States, the blazing altar of Pytho was the focus of the religion of the whole Hellenic people.

As the god himself, when stained with the blood of the vanquished Delphiné,* was compelled to purify himself, partly by self-imposed labours, partly by expiatory rites, he was the rigorous guardian and patron of all ceremonies which efface the deep stain of blood, and purify the soul by external means. Hence, we are warranted in presuming all these solemnities, which were strictly congenial with Doric manners, to be genuinely Spartan; though the ancients have left us no precise details concerning them. The expiatory rites were of three distinct kinds. The first were the general or national (καθάρμοι), in which an extraordinary and choice sacrifice was offered for the purification of the commonwealth, in spring; a season which appeared destined by nature herself for the expulsion of every thing offensive and discordant. The Athenian Thargelia was a festival of this kind. Expiatory rites.

Other expiations, nearly allied to the foregoing, were those undertaken with a view to appease the anger of the god, and to propitiate his favour. The Greeks designated these as ἱλασμοί, and a connexion between the Catharmi and Hilasmi may be inferred

* See Callim. Ernesti, tom. ii. p. 141; Apollodor. Biblioth. ed. Heyne, tom. i. p. 38, tom. ii. p. 35.—*Transl.*

from our knowledge of the time at which both were celebrated. For this purpose, however, it would be necessary to recur to the Athenian calendar of festivals; a mere allusion to the fact must suffice here.

Intimately connected with these propitiations of the divine anger, was that expiation for homicide which, in Athens, at least, was a necessary preliminary to any proceeding before a court of justice for the punishment of the crime. Whether, in similar cases, Sparta observed the same forms which prevailed at Athens, is not made out by any historical facts. Another sort of purification was the lustration of peculiar spots by means of purifying rites, such as sweeping the ground with branches of the sacred laurel, and fumigating it with the burning leaves (καθάρσιος), by which ceremonies the place was placed under the immediate protection of Apollo (καθάρσιος).

Music.

Music was another of the means by which the Greeks sought to restore that tranquillity which it was the chief aim of these expiatory acts to give to the troubled spirit; and therefore, the Cithara was an indispensable accompaniment of the above-mentioned lustrations (καθαρμοί), as well as of the soothing lays (ἐπῳδαί), whose healing influence the medical art of the old world disdained not to employ.

More animating and exciting effects were ascribed to the flute. Under this name they classed instruments of one tube or stock, which were blown through a metal mouth-piece; whether made of brass, of bone, of hard wood, or even of reed.

At a later period, these were connected with the worship of Apollo, and were then employed as an

accompaniment to the Pæans; but they were generally regarded as uncongenial with the lofty serenity of the god, and as therefore inferior to the cithara. For further details concerning the flute; the lyre, with its deep sounding-board; the cithara, with one less deep; and the phorminx, which, in sacred processions, was hung over the shoulder by a band or baldric, we must refer to Thiersch's introduction to Pindar.* All these instruments were either played separately, or as accompaniments to singing, which, however, was somewhat overpowered by the tone of the phorminx. The cithara alone is never mentioned by Pindar, but as accompanying his songs. The hymn to Apollo, one of the oldest songs in hexameter verses, was sung to the cithara.

Pæan.

Other songs addressed to Apollo and Artemis, on the cessation of pestilences or diseases, were, from remote antiquity, as Proclus asserts, called Pæans, or Pæons (παιὰν and παιὼν), in memory of the name of the god who had afforded deliverance. These were joyful songs, and hence, as opposed to the Threnos, were used to celebrate the triumph of the succouring deity. They were also accompanied by Pythian flutes, approaching to the still deeper Phrygian, which were like our trumpets, and were suited to these occasions by the solemnity and grandeur of their tones. Among the Spartans, however, Pæans resounded before, and even during the battle. They were used not only as thanksgiving for preservation, but as prayer for assistance. As in the Homeric time, the elevating notes of the Pæan accompanied the

* I. 54.

solemn libation after the sacrificial feast, at which the cup went round; and hence it was very frequently sung sitting. In Sparta too, the measured step of the dance was adapted to it, and then the leader of the song (ἐξάρχων) accompanied the whole on the lyre.

Hyporchema.

Other songs, still more nearly connected with religious worship, are, the Hyporchemata, i. e. songs accompanying dances; for while the sacrifice was burning on the altar, (frequently in the principal temples of Apollo, and especially at Delphi, a bloodless offering, such as cakes of a peculiar shape,) the singing chorus danced around it in the customary ring; whilst others represented the subject of the song by mimic gesture (ὑπορχεῖσθαι). The variety of stories which, as we know, were hyporchematically represented, is irreconcilable with the opinion that the measure of these songs was very grave and slow. The Hyporchema was probably of a sprightly character; for the worship of the gods generally promoted hilarity and joy, and the descriptions we possess of several of the dances peculiar to the Spartans appear distinctly to betray their hyporchematic nature.

Hyacinthia.

Such were the Pæans, and such the dances which Sparta more especially consecrated to the god of her race, Apollo Carneus, during the solemnization of the Hyacinthian games, in which many religious rites of foreign growth were blended with those of native origin. On the first day of the festival a sacrifice to the dead was offered at the grave of Hyacinthus, at Amyclæ, where the god was said to have killed the beautiful boy with the discus. The ashes, which were inclosed within the tomb by brazen

doors, were moistened with milk and wine; a funeral feast followed the sacrifice; no pæans were sung, or garlands worn on the first day, which passed amidst signs of mourning, contrary to the custom of festivals sacred to Apollo. Müller has discovered an admixture of a primitive worship of Nature (Demeter) and a union of that worship with the festival of Apollo, in detached symbols and usages, and even in the period of the celebration; for this highest of all Spartan festivals fell after the longest day in the Spartan Hecatombæon. On the second day, joy and merriment succeeded to the sadness of the first. All the inhabitants of Amyclæ, and of Sparta, and the conflux of people from the neighbourhood, were crowned with wreaths of ivy. Boys dressed in the chiton confined by a girdle, sang the Pæan to Apollo, accompanied by the flute; and offered sacrifices, the remains of which furnished repasts for the assembled multitude. The joyous tumult lasted through the day, and was succeeded by triumphal processions in the night. Youths rode through the theatre on gaily caparisoned horses; others sang to the cithara or the flute, while others again danced. Virgins rode through the streets in wooden cars with arched roofs, called Canathra (κάναθρα), which were elegantly adorned; while others drove in procession, or contended in races, in richly-harnessed chariots. Friends and acquaintances regaled each other; and on this day, even slaves were feasted by their masters. Matches of various kinds (probably running in armour, and hurling the discus) formed part of the occupations of the third day, which, again, was consecrated to the memory of Hyacinthus, and had rather the character of a funeral solemnity.

The customary truce was enjoyed by the Amyclæans during the celebration of the games. As late as the fourth century, the festival continued to be held at Amyclæ, the temple at which place is so accurately described by Pausanias, that we can entertain no doubt as to its traditional observance up to that date.

Carnea.

In the next month followed the Carnean games, the greatest festival of the country, which lasted for nine successive days. They were celebrated on the seventh day of the Spartan month Carneus, which corresponded with the Attic Metageitnion, and the Roman August. The derivation of the surname of Apollo, after which the festival is called, is one of the most difficult of all inquiries of the kind. Some maintain that the god was indebted for both festival and surname to the soothsayer Carnus, who was slain in the fifth expedition of the Heraclidæ, and whose death was avenged by a pestilence. Others have given other explanations; but some scattered hints seem rather to point to early emigrations from remote countries. The character of the festival was martial, and appears, from the imperfect accounts we have of its institution, to have been essentially different from that of the Hyacinthia. On this occasion, the priest of the god (ἱερώμενος) was called Agetes (ἀγητὴς), and five servants out of each Spartan tribe, called Carneatæ, were appointed to attend upon him. They held the office for four years, during which they were not permitted to marry.

During the nine days of the feast, nine Spartans exhibited a faithful representation of the life of warriors, dwelling in nine tent-like huts, called σκίαδες,

which were pitched in the open fields, and holding themselves at the orders of a herald. Perhaps three Spartans of the phyle of the Ægidæ, which had introduced this festival among the Dorian race, formed part of the mimic camp. From the time of the twentieth Olympiad, festal games, and especially musical contests, in which Terpander was the first victor, were among the festivities of these days. The Carnea, like the Hyacinthia, were marked by a suspension of hostilities.

Artemis.

The ancient Peloponnesian (i. e. Arcadian) deity, Artemis, the sister of Apollo, who presided over springs, rivers, and lakes, was worshipped by the Spartans under the name of Limnatis. She was also reverenced as guardian of the agile beasts of chace, and as protectress of the human infant. Hence, at the Tithenidian festival, sucking pigs were offered to her under the name of Corythallia, in a temple by the brook Tiasa, whither the Spartan nurses brought their little boys. The nurses were then assembled at a Copis, furnished with dishes according to ancient usage, while the parents met at the same time in the city, at a Copis of their own.

Artemis Orthia.

Perfectly and fundamentally different was the worship of Artemis Orthia, who was more peculiarly reverenced as Limnatis in Sparta, under the form of a wooden image originally brought from Tauris. They had nothing in common but the name Artemis. According to the legend, the image was found in the remotest antiquity in a thicket near to Sparta, by Alopecus and Astrabacus, wrapped in a bundle (φακελίτις), or twisted round with twigs of the *agnus castus* (λυγόδεσμα). The mere sight of it in-

stantly produced madness. In order to propitiate this image, the Spartans offered sacrifice with their neighbours, on which occasion a quarrel arose and blood was shed. To expiate this offence, the goddess required further sacrifices, and the scourging of boys, which Plutarch found existing in all its severity, or rather aggravated by the priestess, was substituted in the place of the desired sacrifice. That these bloody rites were foreign, and were imported into Laconia from Lemnos, the Tauris of the ancient legend, appears proved by many circumstances which Müller has successfully collated and compared with those incident to the worship of Bacchus (ὄρθιος). Games called φούαξιρ * were connected with the rites, but perhaps not till later times.

The character of the Artemis of Caryæ, to whom divine honours were paid by the Caryatis, at the festival of the same name, with hymns and sacrifices, remains almost unexplained.

Of the worship of Herè at Sparta, where she was regarded as αἰγοφάγος, and where goats were offered to her, little is known beyond these facts.

Various deities.

The only circumstance we know concerning the festival of Pallas in the Brazen House, Chalcicœcus, is, that a procession on horseback was connected with it.

The worship of Demeter in Laconia was peculiar to the inhabitants of Helos.

* This word, explained by Hesychius to be ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας σωμασκία τῶν μελλόντων μαστιγοῦσθαι, is derived by Müller from φούα for φύα, and ἄξιρ for ἄξις, contracted from ἄσκησις. See Dorians, vol. i. p. 398. vol. ii. p. 326, 486, 491.—*Transl.*

The worship of Dionysos, though not altogether unknown to Sparta, was uncongenial with the austere character of the people, and never acquired much consideration.

The statue of Aphrodite was armed, and even Eros was the instigator to valorous achievements.

Ares was honoured as Enyalius and as Theritas; and, under the names Phaenna and Cleta, the sources and dispensers of all grace, the Charites.

Dioscuria of a peculiar character, at which jests and feasting prevailed, were held in honour of the Dioscuri, who were venerated in Sparta under a primitive form (the ξόανα), and invariably accompanied the warlike expeditions of the kings. Helen and Menelaus received more than heroic honours in Therapne. A stately procession of virgins in Canathra formed part of the spectacles of the days consecrated to them. Sacrifices were likewise offered to the memory of Lycurgus in a chapel consecrated to him, and the gratitude of his posterity and country yearly hallowed a day in remembrance of him.

Hercules was the object of peculiar veneration.

Religious rites.

True to that Spartan peculiarity which gives us the most distinct idea of the character of the Doric race, the religious worship was simple. The victims they offered were less costly and rare than those of other Greeks. Their blessings were short,* and their curses no less emphatic and strong.† Yet their religion was cheerful; for even mourning was subject to restraint, and the honour which was

* The Beautiful to the Good!

† May our enemies build houses, erect fortifications, and hold horses; and may their wives be faithless!

acquired by a glorious death consoled the survivors for the loss of a life which was often renounced under circumstances of self-devotion; while the reverence paid to the gods gave to the genius and the skill which were applied to art, a loftier and more dignified tendency.

Mimic dances.

And here we must recur to those Hyporchematic dances which were treated of before in connexion with another subject. Their religious character did not exclude gaiety, nor even the most unrestrained expressions of hilarity. A passage of Pollux makes us acquainted with the names of several, which, although of a religious character, set no bounds to the riotous and extravagant mirth of the people. Among them may be numbered the Deimalea, a dance of satyrs in a ring; the Bryallicha, sacred to Apollo and Artemis, in which, as its name denotes, the dancers leaped wildly about; and the Calabis, a wanton dance, in honour of Artemis.

It may be conjectured that a great portion of these dances consisted in mimic imitation, and formed a substitute for the drama, which, in its more cultivated and perfect form, was not permitted at Sparta. Thus, there was a dance of old men (Hypogypones), which, judging from its name, was not unlike a dance on stilts (γύπωνες). A humorous conception of the comic incidents and scenes of life was the groundwork of the Deicelistic antics, and threw into the shade the more profound relation which the dance bore to the religious festival. It is probable that these extemporaneous pieces formed the amusement of the populace at the Carnea, where individuals out of the midst of the crowd (women even, as Nepos seems to

imply) gave a deicelistic representation of the ludicrous speech of a foreign doctor, or of the grimaces of a boy caught stealing fruit, with scurrilous vivacity, and on the spur of the moment.

Bucoliasms.

Nearly akin to these inspirations of an unpremeditated merriment, to these rude beginnings of the *Commedia dell' arte*, are the Bucoliasms, which, in memory of their Doric extraction, the Greeks always continued to compose in the Doric dialect. Whether their birth-place is to be sought in Sparta, where the foster-brothers of the higher class of Spartans, the Mothaces, occasionally, in their altered circumstances, recalled the memory of their rustic origin, must be left for other inquirers. Bucolic verse was cultivated with greater art, and combined with song and dance, in Sicily. On the other hand, the Megarian comedy, peculiarly favoured by the worship of Bacchus, became the object of more liberal and prominent culture in Attica. Of this we shall speak more in its place.

Doric humour.

It is true the Spartan education demanded that Doric gravity and reflexion which seem at variance with all inspirations of the moment. But, through all the manly firmness and sedateness of this people, we perceive gleams of rich humour; a fund of hilarity, peculiarly observable in the lower people, and clearly perceptible in the pithy speeches of the severe Spartans, sparing indeed in words, but pregnant with meaning.

Jest and ridicule were common to men and women, and were rendered more pungent by their apophthegmatical form, and by the brevity of expression of a dialect which faithfully preserved the Doric character-

istics. Even now, the contests of wit which seasoned the black broth, or enlivened the Gymnopædia, have lost nothing of their salt; and it is easy to conceive that Spartans preferred the point of their brief and appropriate speech, to the stream of Attic eloquence which they disdained, in common with its parent, sophistry.

Beauty.

Beauty, regarded as the measure of that inner life, which reveals itself in the outward form, was revered and sought by the Spartan in all its modifications and relations. The collective idea of his social institutions was to him one mode of the Beautiful; and this, inseparably united as it is with the Good, was the object of his daily adoration.

Art.

Its outward representation constituted Art, which hence embraced the most various objects; which ennobled war, and the whole of social life; and which, when beheld in the majestic remains of Doric sculpture, and more especially architecture, exhibits the most religious veneration for the systematic and the fitting. In this robust massiveness lay that same charm of power and appropriateness, that same grace of symmetry and serene completeness, which appeared in the youthful forms of a people, who reposed on the consciousness of their full and practised strength, and tasked themselves to produce an entire and systematic harmony of the inward and outward being.

Chapter XIV.

ATHENS.

Territorial division of Attica—Origin of the names of the four main divisions—Origin of various denominations of classes—Phylæ—Ethnea—Phratriæ—Trittyes—Theseus—Death of Codrus—End of the Monarchy—Substitution of the Archonship—Gradual decline of the power of the Archons—Authority of magistrates based upon their judicial character—Primitive tribunals—Courts of Ephetæ—Areopagus—Prytaneum—Dissensions of the Eupatrid Families favourable to democracy—Inefficient legislation of Draco—Solon—His influence due to the Seisachtheia—Constitution framed by him—Its democratical character—Property the basis of political distinctions—Rights of citizenship—Aliens—Slaves—Changes in the Areopagus—Council of the Four Hundred—Ecclesia, or assembly of the people—Heliasts—Magistrates—Archons—Euthyne—Usurpation of Pisistratus—Clisthenes—His democratical innovations—Ostracism—Progress of democracy—Aristides—Pericles.

The predominancy of Ionic institutions in Attica may be dated from the time distinguished by the mythic name of Theseus. Their derivation from foreign sources may be traced among the mazy and many-coloured threads of fable.

The territory of Attica, as beheld from Athens, appears divided into four main sections, which are sufficiently obvious to have attracted the notice of the ancients. They distinguished the level country (πεδίον, μεσογαία); the coast (ἀκτή); the tract of land which, to the inhabitants of the Cecropian city, lay on the other side the mountains, Diacria

(διακρία); and the maritime country, Paralia,—a line of coast to which Sunium belonged. The importance of this division, which, though arbitrary, was founded in nature, was not however felt till different tribes of immigrants (less numerous indeed in barren Attica than in fruitful Thessaly) settled in these different districts by the side of the autochthonous inhabitants, and thus rendered the received distinction more striking. From our knowledge of the customs of the Heroic Age, we may presume that these foreign tribes were governed by their several lines of princes. And, under this presumption, we may refer the names which are sometimes used to designate the districts of Attica, viz.: Cecropis, Atthis, Cranais, and Autochthon, to their several royal races. The origin of their other distinguishing names, Dias, Athenais, Hephæstias, and Poseidonias, must, we think, be sought in the difference of religion which may be supposed to have existed among the different tribes.

Phylæ.

An appellation of the tribes (φυλαὶ) distributed over these tracts of country has, however, acquired a far greater interest and importance than the denominations applied to the physical divisions of the soil. According to Herodotus, this was derived from the sons of Ion, and was commonly received after the time of Erichthonius. The importance of the ancient Attic term Phyle is owing to its supposed reference to a certain classification somewhat similar to that of caste. This supposition has been warmly contested, but on grounds which involved an error. Led astray by a striking analogy, the supporters of this hypothesis assumed the existence of

a clearly defined and rigidly enforced separation of castes, after the Indian or Egyptian mode, which establishes an immutable barrier between noble and ignoble races, and a religious observance of the hereditary transmission of the employments and professions peculiar to each.

That any such institution ever obtained among the Hellenes, the opponents of this hypothesis were fully warranted in denying.

But if its adherents had contented themselves with maintaining that these ancient Attic divisions of tribes afforded traces of the existence of relations similar to those which lie at the root of the institution of castes; namely, difference of extraction and of manner of life, — which latter, again, generally arises from local circumstances,—they would doubtless have secured the concurrence of their numerous antagonists.

The local peculiarities of Attica, and the occupations which they rendered if not exclusively, yet mainly necessary, together with the varied origin of the inhabitants, obviously led to the consideration of these latter as four distinct bodies or masses, each of which was called after its principal occupation. This affords an easy explanation of the names of the Old Attic Phylæ, which Herodotus, without adducing any probable grounds, traces back to the sons of Ion. Argadeis (ἀργαδεῖς, from ἄργος the plain) and Ægicoreis (αἰγικορεῖς) are the goat-herds and husbandmen of the races indigenous to the soil of Attica; Hopletes (ὅπλητες), the warlike Ionian immigrants, whose first conquest and settlement was that of the Tetrapolis. The name of the fourth Phyle Geleontes, or Teleontes

(written γελέοντες, τελέοντες, and γεδέοντες), is more difficult to trace. Many explanations of it have been given, but none, as it appears, resting on sufficient evidence. The derivation of the first form, Geleontes, from γέλειν, would lead us to the signification, *brilliant* (like λάμποντες, χαριέντες). Hence, Schömann thought it referred to the Old-Attic nobility, who ruled the land before the Hellenic invasion. Others, holding to the form Teleontes, and tracing this from τέλος, *consecration*, took it to mean the consecrated priests of Eleusis. This opinion has been adopted by Wachsmuth from a suggestion of Tittmann. Diametrically opposed to Schömann, Böckh thinks that the Teleontes were the husbandmen who paid tribute or rent; that they were subject to the Hopletes, the ruling nobles, and, together with the herdsmen and artisans (Argadeis), had no share in the privileges of the upper classes. In what relation these divisions, marked out by nature, stood to each other, before the whole of Attica was united into one political body, is another point on which the opinions of inquirers are not agreed.

Schömann * assumes, that the ruling nobles scattered over the face of the country had lived, before Theseus' time, in different cities, and had governed the circumjacent inhabitants, the Argades and the Ægicoreis; that in each of the twelve cities there was, accordingly, a ruling class which belonged either to the Geleontes, or the Hoplctes; i. e. either to the aboriginal Attic, or to the immigrant Hellenic, nobility; but that their respective chief seats were pro-

* Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik, 1827; Nos. 85, 86, pp. 675, 676.

bably in certain divisions of the country; namely, that of the Old-Attic, in the neighbourhood of Athens, that of the Hellenic (by others called the Ionic) in the Tetrapolis, that is, Marathon, Œnoë, Probalinthus, and Tricorythus.

At the time of the political separation of races, the inhabitants of the four divisions into which the country naturally fell, from its physical conformation, were called after that portion of the population of each division which was the most numerous. Thus, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Athens were called Geleontes, because the Geleontes were congregated there in greater relative numbers; but from this time the name comprehended not only those to whom it originally belonged, but also the peasantry who lived among them. For the same reason, the inhabitants of the Tetrapolis were called Hopletes; and, in like manner, their name also included the herdsmen and peasants of that part of the country. So, likewise, the inhabitants of the other two districts, Argadeis or Ægicoreis, according as agriculture or cattle-breeding were their chief employment.

In this way these names lost their proper and original signification, with the introduction of the political division of races. They no longer signified the mode of life alone, but also, without reference to that, the local and political divisions to which any individual belonged; and each of the divisions thus denominated, now presented the same distinct portions within itself, which had originally been designated by those very denominations.

In opposition to this hypothesis, which is pecu-

liarly recommended by its clearness, Wachsmuth is of opinion, that neither the Telcontes (the consecrated priests of Eleusis), nor the Hopletes (the Ionian warriors), had subjugated the other inhabitants (the Argadeis and the Ægicoreis); but that these Ionic* legends referred to Athens alone. There was the seat of the Hoplctes, who, however, by no means extended their sway from thence over the whole country. He imagines, that Theseus, having at length united all the divisions of the country by peaceful means, and having raised Athens, the chief city of the Ionians, into the capital of the whole country, did not subjugate any other portion of the population; and that the Ionic Hopletes accordingly assumed an equal rank with the Eleusinian Telcontes, and the autochthonous Argadeis and Ægicoreis.

We agree with Wachsmuth, that the earlier warlike immigrations (which, according to Schömann, were Hellenic, although the fable ascribes them to Ion) probably brought about that natural severance into the four Phylæ (whose names were afterwards given to the political divisions) which tradition, on very sufficient grounds, ascribes to Theseus. For it was Theseus (whose very name marks the introduction of law and order) by whom the Prytaneum of Athens was rendered the political sanctuary of the Atticans; by whom the Attic tribes were led to assemble at the Panathenæa as to a common national festival; and by whom the Synœcia,† the commemo-

* i. e. derived from, or referable to, Ion.

† According to others, the Metœcia.

ration of the union of the eleven separate states with Athens as a centre, was instituted.

With this foundation of the united state, were connected the political subdivision of the Phylæ, and the division into Eupatridæ, Geomori, and Demiurgi.

The opinions of critics are not unanimous as to the subdivisions of the Phylæ. According to some, formed without any great care or research, they were ἔθνος, φρατρία, τριττύς. The question then arises whether these names denoted one and the same kind of subdivision, or several. Almost all the testimony of antiquity, with the exception of one apparently careless scholiast, is in favour of the former supposition: Wachsmuth, however, is of the contrary opinion.

Deriving ἔθνος from ἔθος, in conformity with the majority of the old etymologists, he takes the ἔθνη to mean bodies, or sections, associated together by similarity of manners and of occupations, without any reference to their extraction. On this hypothesis ἔθνος would mean rank, or order; as, for instance, merchant, soldier, physician, &c., understood as a collective name, without any reference, however, to political rights. Hence, to these ἔθνη belonged, Ethnea.

1. The Demiurgi; artisans, workmen in the public service, artists, bards, seers, heralds, physicians, architects; who, as opposed to the native inhabitants, the children of the soil, could only be reckoned equal to the former Metœci.

2. The Geomori; the tributary peasants.

3. The Eupatridæ; the proprietors of land and

cattle, i. e. the nobles dispersed through all the four Phylæ: these, from the disparity of their employments, could not be designated by a name derived from their occupation, and, therefore, must of necessity be called by the name denoting the illustrious birth which was essential to nobility.

Wachsmuth further maintains, that there were no subdivisions of these three classes (ἔθνη), and that the assertion of J. Pollux, that each ἔθνος contained thirty houses, γένη, is erroneous: that, among the Demiurgi and the Geomori, birth could have no effect whatever in determining their class; and that the families of the Eupatridæ were certainly not restricted to a certain number, as has been affirmed.

He thinks that the Phratriæ were on a very different footing from the ἔθνη. They were designed to unite the whole body of the citizens in one equal political bond. According to the old Athenian constitution, there were three Phratriæ in each Phyle; consequently twelve in the whole, each consisting of thirty families, τριακάδες, each of which (on an average?) again contained thirty members.* According to this, the sum of all the citizens would have been 1080 Gennetæ.

Phratriæ.

It is true, that the names of these members, Gennetæ and Homogalactes, seem to imply consanguinity; yet there is conclusive proof that community of religion, originally grounded on natural ties, was the object the state had in view in this institution, and had therefore determined their number, and imposed on the Phratores the obligation of celebrating a

* Γεννῆται, i. e. heads of houses?

number of festal meetings, coincident and connected with the most important incidents of domestic life.

He concludes the Trittyes to have been of a totally different nature from the Phratriæ. According to Aristotle, there were three in each Phyle, each of which had four Naucrariæ (*ναυκραρία*, a word whose derivation is still contested). The date of the origin of the Trittys is doubtful, but it existed before Solon. Nothing can be inferred from the indistinct accounts we have of it, except that it had relation to the division of the public taxes. Trittyes.

This explanation of the subject was questioned by Schömann. He did not think himself justified in utterly rejecting the testimony of the ancients, who use the terms Phratria, Trittys, and *ἔθνος*, as equivalent. Regarding Phratriæ as not merely societies connected by a common religion, but also as unions arising out of a common residence in one of the twelve Attic towns which, before Theseus' time, existed as distinct communities, and each of which might serve as centre of a Phratria, Schömann deems the equivalence of Phratria and Ethnos easily explicable; while he thinks it incredible that aliens should, as Demiurgi, be admitted into any of the political divisions of the state, and reckoned as members of the Phylæ; or, indeed, that they should have existed in the states of antiquity in such considerable numbers. Schömann is further of opinion, that, before the time of Clisthenes, the contributions to the state were assessed according to the Phratriæ. At a later period, the name Trittys was applied to this division; and in loose inaccurate parlance it might therefore be said, that *φρατρία* and *τριττύς* were the

same; meaning by this, that what were the duties of the one before Clisthenes' time, were performed by the other at a later period.*

Democracy.

But it was not these divisions into Phratriæ and tribes or families alone, that the gratitude of the later Athenians ascribed to Theseus. They delighted also to trace back Democracy to him as to its founder; thus surrounding a highly valued possession with the halo of ancient origin, and the sanctity of a venerated name. It is, however, clear from historical indications that the Eupatrid Pallantidæ were sufficiently numerous and powerful to stir up parties in the state against him, and that the oligarchy of the nobles was not annihilated till the time of Solon.

It remains, however, the great and sufficing glory of Theseus' administration, that, as Diodorus Siculus asserts, he governed the people according to the laws (νομίμως). The rhetoricians of more modern times dressed out his retreat from Athens as a voluntary retirement, for the purpose of establishing democracy. But historical documents represent him either as driven out in a violent tumult, or as banished by ostracism.

In the hands of the feeble successors of Theseus, the newly united monarchy of Attica was entirely without consideration.

Archon.

The death of Codrus furnished the nobles with an opportunity of seizing upon the power of royalty while they left its name; they im-

* See further on the ancient political divisions of Attica, Thirlwall's History of Greece, vol. ii. ch. 17, and Appendix I. —*Trans.*

posed responsibility (εὐθύνη) on the king, as on all other public officers. Doubts, however, have been raised whether it was in the reign of Medon, the son of Codrus (under whom this change in the government took place), that the name Archon was first used to designate the chief magistrate. At first, the dignity of Archon was for life, and hereditary in the family of the Codridæ (for those who maintain that the Alemæonidæ were also participants in the Archonship for life have still to adduce their proofs); and Medon, the son of Codrus, is generally regarded as first of the series.

According to Hüllmann's view of the subject, three Archons immediately filled the place of the king. In the first year of the seventh Olympiad, the duration of the Archonship was limited to ten years; and subsequently to that, other Eupatrid families, besides the Codridæ, acquired a share in this dignity. After the second year of the twenty-fourth Olympiad, new Archons were annually elected. The first of these was called the Archon ἐπώνυμος, or, preeminently, the Archon; the second, King, βασιλέυς; the third, Polemarch; the other six, Thesmothetæ. All these were of Eupatrid descent. This form of government continued down to the time of Solon.

These facts already show that continual decline of the authority of the Archons, which modern writers have represented as a consequence of the supremacy of the people. The most important branch of their authority, the heritage of the kings whose place they had usurped, was the jurisdiction which each of them severally, without any co-operation from the others, and without appeal, exercised in

his own circle. They were bound, after the manner of antiquity, by an oath, to watch over the laws, and not to receive bribes, under penalty of erecting a golden statue by way of fine. That a council of the most noble of the land assembled in the Prytaneum, founded by Theseus, and after the manner of the Homeric *βουλὴ γερόντων*, decided on cases of high treason, or others which concerned the government and the nation, appears probable from many accounts. The substitution of the court of the Ephetæ, which was afterwards established in the same place, has caused these historical traces to be overlooked.

Judicial authorities.

In almost all the states of antiquity, the judicial character was the basis of the importance of the public authorities. This explains how it was that all the governing or administrative bodies of Athens which had subsisted from the time of Solon, were designated as courts of justice. Their functions were probably far more various in primitive times than at a more advanced period of civilization. Vengeance for blood was, in the infancy of states, a mere private concern, of which the government took no cognizance; only the murderer was excluded from the common religious worship as unclean, until he had undergone purification. The kings, uniting in their persons the highest judicial and sacerdotal dignities, possibly, however, in early times, decided as umpires between the parties, by determining a fine. Vengeance for blood became a public concern by the circumstance of whole families and tribes appealing to the judicial decision. This custom was early introduced into Attica, especially

where criminal tribunals arose in certain spots hallowed by their connexion with mythic story. Judges chosen from among the heads of families, to whose decision people submitted from custom and tradition, (since it is not likely that they were appointed by the state,) sat in these courts before the time of Draco. Draco transferred the judicial authority in these tribunals for the punishment of murder to Ephetæ, chosen according to their noble descent (ἀριστίνδην), whose functions were then more precisely determined.

Courts of the Ephetæ of this kind were probably held, after the ancient custom, in the open air, at the Palladium,* the Delphinium, the Prytaneum, and at Phreattys; the vicinity of Zea gave occasion to later critics to describe the latter of these courts as held at Zea. Fifty-one Ephetæ were, according to the express testimony of Pollux, judges in these courts, which were ambulatory.† They lost their authority and importance when they were made subordinate by Solon to the Areopagus.

Solon established an equality between these four criminal tribunals and the primitive one, called from the Hill of Murder, Areopagus (Ἄρειος πάγος—ἄρειος διὰ τὸν φόνον—Ἄρης ὁ φόνος), inasmuch as he left to the Ephetæ the cognizance of cases of homicide; but he altered the constitution of the Areopagus by giving it jurisdiction in criminal cases, to which the competence of those other two

Areopagus.

* Hence ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, &c.

† περιόντες, according to Müller's able emendation of the π' όντες of Harpocration.

tribunals had never extended.* Many accounts concur to prove that a court for the trial of homicide existed in this spot, hallowed by numerous traditions, before the time of Solon. The judges who presided in it were, after the time of Draco, called Ephetæ. Whether they had any other power or influence in the state is uncertain. Their number coincides with that of the Ephetæ. The arguments opposed to this explanation of a very obscure question, which have been deduced from the spurious conclusion of the second book of Aristotle's Politics,† appear to be of small account. That premeditated homicide fell under its jurisdiction appears to be universally admitted, although some few mythic examples contradict this opinion. Involuntary or accidental homicide came under the cognizance of the Ephetæ.

Prytaneum.

One of the chief seats of government, before the time of Solon, was the Prytaneum, the old national sanctuary, where, in conformity with the customs transmitted from the heroic times, the public officers met for the celebration of religious rites, and of public feasts. We can only venture to form conjectures concerning the internal relation which subsisted between the court of Ephetæ held there (to which Phylobasileis were attached), and the state-functionaries, who assembled there for other purposes. The opinions put forth by some learned

* This is the opinion of Platner, in his commentary on the passages adduced by A. Matthiæ.

† The reader should be warned, that it is by no means certain (as the author assumes after Goettling) that the last chapter of the second book of Aristotle's Politics is spurious. —*Trans.*

men on this subject are too little supported by evidence to warrant their adoption.

Athens, from the privileges conceded to the Eupatridæ, was on the very verge of becoming an Oligarchy. This powerful class had already gained possession of nearly the whole soil, while the people were tributary to them. The peasant cultivated the land of another, and paid the sixth part of the produce to the owner. The dissensions of the Eupatrid families brought a remedy for this calamitous state of things. Tumults arose in which the ancient parties of the Diacrians, the Pediæans, and the Paralians, took a prominent part, and Solon was appealed to to settle the contending claims. Eupatridæ.

For the severe penal laws of Draco had not remedied the defects of the constitution; on the contrary, their excessive rigour had accustomed the people to violations of the laws; while, among the Eupatridæ, divisions had arisen from the curse which had been denounced against the Alcmæonidæ, after the murder of those who abetted the attempts of Cylon to seize absolute power.

Solon was Archon in the eighth year of the forty-sixth Olympiad. The first step by which he conciliated universal confidence was the Σεισάχθεια. By this measure he reduced the nominal amount of existing debts, raised the value of money as applied to the payment of the principal and interest, and provided against the recurrence of similar disorders, by depriving the money-lender of his lien upon the body of his debtor. Henceforth, no citizen could be reduced for debt to the condition of a slave. Intimately connected with this was another decree, that Legislation of Solon.

all citizens, with the exception of proved criminals, and of those who had incurred the loss of civil rights (*ἀτιμία*), should be restored to the full enjoyment of them. This measure appeared the more necessary, inasmuch as the majority of those who had fallen into atimy (i. e. had lost a part of their rights as citizens) had incurred that loss on account of debts. This preliminary regulation gave Solon such an ascendancy over public opinion, that the organization of the whole constitution of the state was intrusted to him.

The fundamental principle of this constitution was, that the supreme power resides with the whole community; and hence followed, as a necessary consequence, the total abolition of villenage, or bondage to the soil, and the participation of all free citizens in the government. These popular privileges were, however, accompanied with limitations, which prevented the government from assuming the form of absolute democracy, though it was strongly tinctured with the democratical character.

The entire people were divided by Solon's constitution into four classes (*τάξεις*), the distinctions between which were founded on a valuation of their property (*τίμημα*, *census*).

The first were the Pentacosiomedimni, i. e. the citizens who drew from their own land five hundred measures of dry and of wet produce. (Of the dry, Medimni, of the wet, Metretæ.)

The second included all who produced three hundred measures, and who could keep a war-horse (*ἵππος πολεμιστήριος*), which also implied one for the groom, and a yoke or team for the plough. Hence, they were called knights, or horsemen (*ἱππεῖς*, *ἱππάδα τελοῦντες*).

The third class, whose yearly produce was, according to the usual statement, two hundred measures of wet and dry, or, more accurately, as Böckh shows, a hundred and fifty, had their name from keeping a team (ζεῦγος), which generally consisted of mules, and sometimes of draught horses or oxen. They were called ζευγῖται, and their valuation or census, ζευγίσιον τελεῖν.

The fourth class, the Thetes, included all whose property fell below the valuation of the Zeugitæ.

All taxes and other public burthens were proportioned to the several degrees of this census; and the Greek expression for the payment of taxes (τελεῖν τὸ τέλος) does not therefore express the mere payment of a regular sum of money, but includes the fulfilment of all the duties imposed on a certain assessed class; namely, military service, liturgies, and even extraordinary taxes upon property.

All civic duties were accordingly connected with the census, and the complete performance of them secured the full enjoyment of civic rights in the several gradations.

Citizens.

A share in the making and maintenance of laws, and in the choice and examination of public officers, was secured to all citizens, without exception, by the rights of citizenship; but only the three first classes of the census were deemed by Solon competent to fill public offices. It was the duty of the Phratriæ to watch that no unqualified person laid claim to this high prerogative; and here the religious principle which lay at the foundation of the political constitution of the state came distinctly to view. He only had a right to become a citizen who could show

that he was born in lawful wedlock, of a male and female citizen, and who could establish his claims before a Phratria. By this regulation the worship of the paternal gods was also secured; for Phratriæ, as has already been mentioned, were religious communities under the peculiar patronage of certain deities.

Aliens.

As none but Athenian citizens could contract a lawful marriage, this authentication and legitimation before the Phratria secured the purity of the political and religious community from the intrusion of foreigners. Foreigners, whether male or female, could form no legal marriage. They were forbidden to marry Athenian citizens under severe penalties. Marriages of the latter, contracted in foreign parts, were also illegal. The ranks of the citizens were thus secured from being overfilled.

Naturalization was, however, possible both for the children of illegal marriages (νόθοι), and for foreigners, provided it was sanctioned by the votes of six thousand citizens for their admission. Newly admitted citizens of this kind were called δημοποίητοι. Yet many of the privileges of citizenship were still denied them. For example, they were excluded from the Phratriæ, as being without kindred; nor could they become candidates for the Archonship or priesthood, though their children were eligible to those dignities.

The precise and narrow line within which Solon's constitution circumscribed the class of citizens, gave rise to the class of Metœci, settlers in Athens of foreign birth, who could only enforce their rights before a court of justice by the intervention of a patron (προστάτης). The punctual discharge of the

tax they paid for protection (μετοίκιον), the most important of all their contributions to the state, ensured to them toleration from the laws. If they neglected to pay this tax, they were reduced to the condition of slaves; and many marks of dependency served to remind them of the station they occupied in society, more especially on occasions when the citizens were most conscious of all their privileges; as, for instance, in festal processions and solemnities. Metœci, who had rendered peculiar service to the state, were raised to a level, on most points, with the citizens (ἰσοτελεῖς). But even here the equality was not complete.

Slaves.

Slaves, that is, foreigners acquired by purchase, and their offspring (οἰκότριβες), were, at Athens, the property of private individuals; very few belonged to the state. But Solon, although he did not abolish the torturing of slaves with a view to extort legal evidence, nor permit them to receive the same education as the free citizens, gave them the right of appealing against the tyranny of a master, and of demanding to be sold to another. He secured them against momentary ill-treatment, by establishing asylums or sanctuaries to which they might flee. A slave could obtain his freedom either by purchase, or as a gift from the state, for services rendered to the community. The emancipated slave then passed into the class of the Metœci, and the master by whom he was freed became his judicial patron or representative, Prostates.

The change which Solon wrought in the personal relations of the Athenians also brought about material changes in the higher affairs of the state. These

were more particularly affected by the altered constitution of the Areopagus.

Areopagus.

At an earlier period, this supreme tribunal, though specially named from its judicial character, was exclusively in the hands of Eupatridæ. But the census had deprived this noble class of their influence as a political body, and consequently the highest power in the state could no longer belong to the Eupatridæ, as such. In conformity with Solon's organization, every Archon (who could be chosen only from among the Pentacosiomedimni) passed into the Areopagus, which of course consisted exclusively of persons from that class of the census. Thus was the entrance to this high tribunal open to the whole class of opulent citizens, instead of being the exclusive privilege of the Eupatridæ.

Solon moreover altered and extended the functions of the Areopagus; inasmuch as he committed to it the supervision of the whole legal condition of the country, and converted it into a permanent commission, empowered to institute and carry on inquiries into bygone crimes, especially such as had been directed against the state. It was bound to deliver in reports (ἀποφάσεις) of the result of its investigations to the senate or the people. At the same time it watched over the purity of religious worship (naturally connected with the observance of the laws), and acted as guardian of public morals.

Boulè, or Senate.

The supreme official body established by Solon was the Senate, or Council of Four Hundred (ἡ βουλή), consisting of citizens belonging to the three superior classes, a hundred out of each Phyle. They could not be elected under the age

of thirty; every candidate was subjected to an examination, and, even then, could only be chosen by lot for a year. What was the nature and course of the business entrusted by Solon to this council, is not clearly known to us. We have more distinct accounts of its internal constitution in the time of Clisthenes. Its functions were, the supreme direction of all affairs which fall under the cognizance of a police, and the superintendence of the general administration. It was bound to protect the rights of the citizens and the course of justice from all disturbance and violence; and to transact public business, foreign and domestic.

It was the province of the Senate to prepare and to introduce every measure submitted to the assembly of the people. The levying and the administration of the public revenues lay with this body, as supreme court of finance; as well as the superintendence of religious matters, and the management of all business connected with embassies to foreign states, which was communicated to the people by them alone. Its authority was subordinate to that of the Assembly of the People, inasmuch as it could inflict only a certain degree of punishment; (all that lay beyond this was in the power of the community;) and even its independent decrees (ψηφίσματα) were binding for a year only, and were subject to appeal. As a security for the ability and the industry of the members, they were subjected to an examination (δοκιμασία), previous to their admission into the senate, and also to a supervision of their conduct when in office. Notorious unworthiness or

inefficieney were followed by expulsion: this involved atimy, but left an appeal open to the courts of justiee. Peeuliar zeal in the publie serviee was rewarded with a erown.

With the same tendeney towards demoeraey Solon also instituted the assembly of the people, ἐκκλησία, which it was not only the right but the duty of every eitizen to attend, who was born in wedloek, was thirty years of age, and was not ἄτιμος. The Toxotæ, by order of the Lexiarehs, drove the loiterers to the meeting, marking all they found with a eord dyed in vermilion, and imposing on them a pecuniary fine.* They, however, took equal eare to guard against any intrusions on the part of those who had no elaim to be there. To heighten their interest in the proeeedings, every eitizen was permitted not only to bring forward propositions in relation to the Probuleuma, but also to diseuss any measure brought forward by others.

Assembly of the people.

In order to give unity and order to the course of publie business, every question which was to be submitted to the deeision of the people was first brought into such a form (προβούλευμα), by the Four Hundred, that it might be instantly assented to, by merely holding up the hand (προχειροτονία), or might be in a fit state for immediate debate. Only extraordinary eases, such as crimes not contemplated by the actual law, (in short, such as appeared to warrant aeeusations of Eisangelia,) were brought before the people; who, in their legislative eapaeity, were to deeide on the liability to punishment. The question was deter-

* Aristoph. Acharn. 21, et Schol. in locum.

mined by a majority of votes. Whenever the question was of a personal nature, the voting was secret, by means of beans, or, at a later period, of pebbles.

Order was preserved by the Nomophylaces, with the assistance of the Proedri belonging to the Prytaneum.

Certain days of the month were appointed for the regular holding of these meetings. Originally, when the functions of the assembly were less numerous and comprehensive, they held their sittings but once a month, κυρία ἐκκλησία, to determine the appointment or removal of public officers, to hear actions of εἰσαγγελίαι, and cases relative to the law of inheritance. These sittings were afterwards held four times in the month. In pressing cases, questions of peace and war were decided by extraordinary assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι σύγκλητοι). The place of meeting was originally the Pnyx, or, in bad weather, the Theatre of Bacchus.

One main check to the power of the popular assembly, a check which, according to circumstances, might be applied to every conceivable part or subject of administration, was this. It was only in the first Prytania of every year, and on the motion of the Thesmothetæ, that the abrogation of an old law and the substitution of a new one could be determined upon.*

In case a new law was adopted, Nomothetæ were chosen from among the sworn Heliasts to digest it and give it legal validity.

* We shall have occasion to revert to this subject when we mention Clisthenes.

Heliasts.

The Heliasts were six thousand of the citizens yearly chosen out of the Ecclesia, (of which, however, they remained members,) to act not only as sworn judges of the first instance in judicial questions, but also to decide upon political matters which seemed to require examination, according to the existing forms of judicial inquiry. Any other question which occupied the popular assembly might also be brought before the Heliæa for revision. The Heliasts, in concurrence with the council, ratified, after examination, the appointment of officers previously chosen by the Ecclesia. The Heliæa, therefore, ranked above the Senate, inasmuch as it was irresponsible.

Officers of state were placed under the perpetual supervision of the citizens. The popular assembly, for instance, conferred the Archonship by election. The authorities just named, the Senate and the Heliasts, examined into his merits, inquired whether the nominee had fulfilled all the duties of a citizen, ascertained, even, that he had no personal defect, and formally denounced any want of cleanliness. Before entrance into office, the fitness of the nominee was investigated by Dokimasia; during its continuance, inquiries were made into the fulfilment of its duties; and after its resignation, an account (*εὐθύνη*) was demanded by functionaries whose special duty it was. In case of malversation, the judicial execution of their sentence was transferred to the courts of the Heliasts.

Euthynè.

Pecuniary questions were settled by the Logistæ and the Euthyni.

But if the authority of the Archons was subjected by Solon to these limitations, he conferred on them the important privilege (*ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου*) of initiating, and introducing in legal form, all such judicial questions as were to be submitted to the Heliæa. Indeed he made little other change in the powers of the Archons than that of depriving them of the right of judicial decision. The Thesmothetæ were more important from their influence than the three others. It was, indeed, decisive, from the circumstance that they were empowered to impeach the authors of illegal propositions (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*), and were thus enabled to maintain the integrity of the constitution; and also that they presided over the elections of the Heliasts, the Dokimasia of the public officers, and fixed the days for the administration of justice. So spotless was the conduct required of them, that if an Archon was accidentally seen drunk, any citizen might instantly put him to death. Archons.

Public officers who had filled the Archonship, and had passed through the Euthynè, or scrutiny, entered the Areopagus, whose essential functions have already been indicated. It formed a magistracy, extending its watchful care over the whole commonwealth, and recalling it from its aberrations to the path of moral duty; seldom interfering with the details of public business, but extending a general superintendence over education, religious worship, the industry of the citizens, and the morals and manners of private life. Its functions as a judicial body were restricted to cases in which the state itself was endangered by offences against religion; to certain criminal cases, and to bribery. In their character of judges, Areopagus.

the Areopagites, otherwise so profoundly reverenced for their dignity, were subject to the Euthynè.

Changes in the constitution.

Solon strove to give durability to the constitution of which he was the founder, by various precautions. He gave written laws, ἄξονες, and caused them to be fixed up on the walls of the citadel, records of various traditions to be preserved, and great attention to be paid to the education of youth; he likewise showed an admirable sense of the importance of that spirit of reverence for the laws, which is the best safeguard of the prosperity of a nation. Yet, in the obligation to take a share in public life, and in the continual modifications of the constitution, arising from the annual revision of the laws enjoined upon the citizens, there lay germs of disquiet which mainly enabled Pisistratus to possess himself of the tyranny. This, though at length overthrown, subsisted forty-one years. Though Solon's constitution was not indeed abolished by the Pisistratidæ, yet the period of their rule was not favourable to the growth and completion of the institutions of which it was composed.

The renewed agitations of party-spirit after the expulsion of Hippias occasioned those changes in the constitution, which Clisthenes, who was the leader of the Alemæonidæ, and opposed to Isagoras, had the address to render acceptable to the people.* In order to give the people more equal claims to the highest posts in the administration, and to confer political rights on those who, though belonging to no Phyle, were permanent residents in Attica, Clis-

* Olymp. 67. 2.

thenes abolished the ancient Phylæ, and established, instead of the four which had hitherto existed, ten new ones. The division of the citizens into these, was not according to families, but entirely local, according to districts. According to this distribution of the Phylæ, settlement, or permanent residence, was the qualification. But the equality of rights aimed at would not have been attained if he had allowed the religious associations, which severed Phratriæ and the families or clans, to subsist.

After Clisthenes' time, the Phratriæ subsisted only as individual distinct communities; otherwise, the view of the subject taken by Wachsmuth seems to us unintelligible. He supposes the Phratriæ and clans to have subsisted, but without any connexion with the Phylæ, whose dissolution too must have occasioned that of the Trittyes and the Naucrariæ. Perhaps we must adopt the conjecture of Schoemann, that the clans were closed against the newly incorporated citizens, but that they could be admitted into the Phratriæ; thus, every Gennetes would have a Phratria, but not every Phrator a γένος. The division into Demi was adopted as a basis of the administration, and the internal government of these Demi was under the superintendence of the Demarchs.

The increased facility of access to the rights of citizenship which Clisthenes had given to foreigners, to Metœci, and even (as it is affirmed on the evidence of a doubtful reading of Aristotle)* to slaves, had brought about these changes.

* Aristotle, Pol. III. 1. Οἷον Ἀθήνησιν ἐποίησε Κλεισθένης μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἐκβολήν· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους·

Ostracism.

But in order that equality so artificially secured, which had utterly obliterated the privileges of the Eupatridæ, might not be endangered by superiority of merit or talent, the democratical Clisthenes established ostracism; a banishment for ten years to some appointed spot, unattended, however, with atimy, or with any confiscation of property.

Clisthenes himself is said to have been the first ostracised exile; or Hipparchus, a kinsman of the Pisistratidæ, who are reported to have been the authors of this measure.

Prytaneum.

The change in the constitution of the Phylæ necessarily brought on one in the constitution of the Senate (*βουλή*), which was now increased to five hundred, by the selection of fifty out of each Phyle; and the transaction of business in the Senate was regulated by the establishment of the Prytanies. For thirty-five or thirty-six days (during a *πρυτανεία*) one Phyle always had the precedence; and in this the presidency was made to alternate, by ten of its members being always chosen by lot to fill the office of Proedri for seven days. One of the Proedri, also chosen by lot, officiated, but only for a day, as president of the *βουλή* (*ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων*). The all-pervading influence of these alterations of the Phylæ

μετοίκους. Niebuhr, History of Rome, vol. ii., note 702, reads *ξένους μετοίκους καὶ δούλους*. Other critics read *δούλους καὶ μετοίκους*. Goettling incloses *δούλους* in brackets, because he thinks it extremely doubtful whether the rights of Athenian citizenship were ever given to slaves: but compare Andocides de Reditu suo, p. 22, ed. Steph., *ὁρῶ δ' ὑμᾶς πολλάκις καὶ δούλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ ξένοις παντοδαποῖς πολιτείας διδόντας*.—*Transl.*

is best shown by the fact, that the number of persons filling an office was, in many cases, raised to ten.

Even for the office of Archon, appointment by lot was substituted for election by vote, but the number of Archons, and the examination they underwent previously to the completion of their appointment, and also the pecuniary qualification for the office, remained unaltered.

As a reward for the courage and constancy displayed by the people in the Persian war, Aristides obtained that the fourth class of the census should be eligible to almost all public offices; and abolished the exclusive claim to the Archonship on the part of the Pentacosiomedimni. This change in the constitution was the foundation of unlimited democracy. Progress of Democracy.

Pericles, going still further, degraded the dignity of the Areopagus, and took from that tribunal the more important of its judicial functions. But he inflicted a more material injury on the commonwealth by suffering the judges to receive fees (δικαστικὸν). And when at length Agyrrhius succeeded in obtaining that every ecclesiast should receive three obols when he attended the popular assembly, the groundwork was laid for that degradation of the democracy which so rapidly accomplished the destruction of Athens.

Chapter XV.

Commerce and Finance of Athens—Smallness of her Territory and Revenue, compared with her public Works—Fortifications—Temples—Festivals—Theoricon—Pay of Judges—Pay of the Army—Budget—Revenue—Mines—Tolls and Duties—Tithes—Metoikion—Slaves' Poll-Tax—Judicial Fees and Fines—Epobelia—Confiscation—Tribute of the Allies—Liturgies—Choregies—Gymnasiarchy—Tribe Feasts—Architheory—Antidosis—Symmoriæ—Farmers and Collectors of Taxes—Financial Officers—Debasement of the Currency—Monetary System Trade.

The mobile temper, the eagerness for novelty, and the craving for notoriety, which characterised the Ionian race, were as distinctly and as constantly displayed in Athens in these changes of her constitution as in almost every incident and relation of her social life.

But the object contemplated in these changes was the extension of the power of the commonwealth rather than the encouragement of industry and commerce, which in modern states appears to be the chief aim. In Athens, it is true, the system founded on the census introduced by Solon gave a weight to trade which it could not acquire in Sparta; but even there, financial questions were never of sufficient importance to give rise to any important changes in the constitution of the state.

All the disturbanees, for example, whieh preceded Solon's new organization of the state, or which were eonsequent upon the new order of things, were oecasioned not by the peeuniary embarrassments of the government, but by the violation of personal rights. Finance.

It was undoubtedly necessary to pay some attention to the public revenue, because the demands upon it were eonsiderable; but the politieians of antiquity were less solicitous about it, beeause the unanimous consent of the assembled citizens, which was neeessary to the imposition of any publie burthen, guaranteed the administration from eomplaints of oppressive taxation.

Nevertheless, we can hardly understand how the resourees of the small state of Attica could suffice for its necessary expenditure, and could furnish the sums whieh it devoted to objeets of art. On seven hundred and forty-eight square miles of unproductive soil (Salamis included),* lived about five hundred thousand souls; and, with the exeeption of metals and marbles, of fine porcelain clay, oil, figs, honey, ordinary wine, and barley, (the land was too poor for wheat,) the country had few natural riehes to boast.

Sueh was the territory whieh, out of its own bosom, furnished the means and the men for the eonstruetion of those gigantie edifiees, at whose destruction barbarism has toiled for eenturies with various success. The walls of the citadel are still standing, spite of all the sieges of modern times; and these Pelasgic walls would still resist even more Buildings.

* The area of Attica and Salamis is thus determined by Clinton, Fast. Hellen., vol. ii., p. 385.—*Transl.*

desolating attacks. Athens itself was defended by enormous fortifications, exclusive of the works around the citadel; the harbours of the Piræus and Munychia were only single strong points of this great whole. Walls of six miles in circumference, of sixty Hellenic feet in height, and broad enough for two carriages to drive upon them abreast, surrounded these two ports, which, again, were connected with the city by two walls, one longer and the other shorter, thrown across a space of from four to five miles, a portion of which was marshy. If to these fortifications, built of square blocks of stone, merely fastened together with clamps of iron, the fortifications of various strategic or otherwise important points of the country, (for instance of Eleusis and Sunium;) the celebrated docks; the arsenal, which Sylla destroyed; the market of Hippodamus, the theatre, the Odeum, the Ephebea, the gymnasia, the Tholus, the Lesche, and the Stoa, the Prytaneum, and the countless temples and chapels, of which the Parthenon alone inclosed a forest of pillars thirty-three feet high; we may conceive that the mere repair and preservation of the public buildings required such an annual expenditure as states of the first order can now hardly afford to bestow upon new constructions. The cost of the building of the Propylæum alone, amounted to two thousand and twelve talents (490,425*l.*), and so great was the wealth of the treasury in the time of Pericles, that he was enabled to build temples costing a thousand talents each. When we add to these enormous sums the restoration of the altars at the festivals, the roads artificially constructed for processions to Eleusis, and to Delphi, we shall understand why, at length, no

allusion to this branch of the public expenditure was permitted. These, indeed, could not be classed among the average annual expenses, since they mainly depended on the inclinations or the means of the ruler at the time. Such however was the love of the Athenians for these magnificent works, that the rule, that the surplus only of the treasure should be applied to them, was not very rigorously adhered to.

Festivals.

Temples of such august and awful beauty demanded corresponding festivals; and it is proved by various witnesses that the demagogues of the times preceding Demosthenes delighted to outdo all other Hellenes in the splendour of Athenian sacrifices, games, and shows. Hundreds of oxen fell at the cost of the state at the modern festivals, in addition to the ancient hereditary sacrifices which were on a smaller scale: and the Athenians had exactly twice as many festivals as the other Hellenes. Unfortunately, the banquets connected with the sacrifices, and to which the hungry people crowded, exhausted the public treasury at a time when walls and docks were falling to decay. The gymnic and musical games, which gave grace and magnificence to these solemnities, were, indeed, in part carried on at the cost of private citizens; but even then they remotely exhausted the energies of the state, inasmuch as they absorbed those resources which might have been applied to other and more important purposes. Nor must we forget the prizes at these games, which consisted sometimes of money, sometimes of golden crowns.

But, however profuse this expenditure may appear, it was far less destructive to the good order and

prosperity of the state, than the distributions of corn or of money (διανομαί, διαδόσεις) among the citizens. Still more pernicious were the wages given to the judges and ecclesiasts, and the partition of confiscated property; this excited every feeling of avarice, every rapacious longing for the possessions of others, which could cause the utter demoralization of the poorer sort.

Causes of decline.

The Athenian love of shows also gave occasion to a public outlay which, in a more especial manner, cost the people their independence. At first the entrance to the theatre was free. The concourse was so great, that the seats, which, in common with the rest of the building, were as yet of wood, were broken. To remedy this disorder, the state resolved to require the payment of two obols for each seat. But in order not to deprive the poor of their enjoyment by this regulation, the admittance money (θεωρικόν) was given them from the public funds. From the time that Pericles introduced this practice, every man whose name was inscribed in the book of the citizens, received his allowance at the popular assembly. And in a very short time various additions were made to this payment. At other festivals Theorica were also given; for instance, at the Panathenæa and the Hieromeniæ; nor was the allowance confined to money for the shows, but the poorer citizens were regaled with a good dinner. Hence the statements as to the amount of the Theoricon differ; and Böckh, who has so minutely investigated this cancer of the prosperity of Athens, in his admirable work on the Public Economy of the Athenians, assumes that the regular rate of payment was not raised,

Theoricon.

but that the two obols originally granted were doubled or trebled when the festival lasted two or three days.

In this Theoricon, which was zealously promoted by the most servile flatterers of the sovereignty of the people and the most equivocal friends to their happiness, was expended the money which should have been reserved for war; and Athens was prostrated beneath the power of Macedon, who had watched this wasteful and corrupting dissipation of the public funds with the satisfaction of a jealous neighbour.

Nor was the pay of the judges a slight source of expense. This was allotted to them, reasonably enough, as an indemnification to the poorer citizens for the consumption of time in the affairs of others. But by exciting a universal desire to be a judge, it gave a turn to the minds of the people which Aristophanes ridicules with the bitterest satire.

The payment of this salary (*μισθὸς δικαστικός*) always took place at the close of the sittings of the tribunal, on the judges surrendering to the Prytanes a tablet which each received, together with the white staff, on coming into court. Salaries were also given to the public advocates or pleaders (*συνήγοροι*), of whom there were ten; and to ambassadors. Even the poets received pecuniary rewards; as we learn from the fact of Agyrrhius, who was so prodigal in every thing else, having cut down their salaries; probably from resentment at the jokes of the comic poets.

Nor were the war-expenses an inconsiderable item in the public accounts of Athens, although the numbers of the army varied very much according to the necessities and circumstances of the

Pay of the army.

times, and the soldiers received pay and food only during a short period. In a later age, in consequence of an increase in the pay of the troops, the greater number of whom were citizens, this burthen became more oppressive. In earlier times pay was not thought of; Pericles first introduced the practice of paying soldiers taken out of the ranks of the citizens. They received pay (μισθός) for their services, and also money for their subsistence (σιτηρέσιον, σιτάρκεια). Each of these separate allowances was two obols daily for each Hoplites, and three times that sum for a horseman in Athens. These rates also underwent changes. The horsemen, who were required to increase the pomp of the processions, received pay during peace; in Xenophon's time this amounted to forty talents. Several hundred sailors who were wanted to man the galleys of the state, the Paralos and the Delias, likewise had constant pay. The pay of the sea-service was not always alike, but it was never so low as that of the land-service, because there were fewer mercenaries in the former; although, in the time of Philip, these were too frequently substituted for Athenian citizens. If the introduction of this system of paid troops had not been accompanied with a waste of the public means (already inadequate to the demands of the state), the standing army thus created would perhaps have compensated for the great expense it caused; but the whole body of the troops could not be assembled without a decree of the people; and while the generals passed their time at the banquets and festivals of Athens, her battles were fought by mercenaries who were at the disposal of the highest bidder.

The army was maintained too in the most expensive manner: no contributions were levied on the enemy, or on the country which was the seat of war; every thing was paid for, from an apprehension that the system of levying contributions would be extremely perilous to the tranquillity of states. Ammunition for sieges, as well as the outfit of the fleet, was very costly; and even when victory had filled the coffers of the state, the funds were quickly dissipated by the tools of the dishonest popular leaders who were the only eventual gainers.

These large sums disbursed for mercenaries must be distinguished from those expended on the archers (τόξοται), or, as they were commonly called, Scythians; a police guard, composed of public slaves, whose head-quarters were under tents in the market, or, in later times, on the Areopágus. Their number was originally three hundred and ninety, and was gradually increased to ten or twelve hundred. They might on occasion be brought into the field, but their chief duty was that of guarding the peace of the city. Archer guard.

According to a conjectural estimate, we may therefore, agreeably with Böckh's learned and comprehensive view, state the annual budget of the expenses of the Athenian government (exclusive of the incalculable cost of the public buildings, and of the sums for the maintenance of the poor) about as follows:— Athenian budget.

The Scythians, about	-	38 talents.
The Theoricon	- -	28—30.
The Ecclesiasts	- -	30—35.

Salaries of the Five Hundred (μισθὸς βουλευτικός). -	25.
Salaries of the Judges (μ. δικαστικός). - - -	150.
——————— Publie Pleaders	½.
Seamen in time of peace -	16.
Cavalry in ditto - -	40.

The publie buildings may be estimated at a thousand talents yearly. We may fairly assume that the annual expenditure, independent of the buildings, was four hundred talents; eertainly the very utmost that the resourees of the eountry eould furnish.

Revenue.

To meet these great exigencies, the revenue was neither regular nor remarkably large. There was no poll-tax for the citizens, nor any regular land or house-tax. The incomings eonsisted of, 1st, rents (τέλη), or payments in respect of national property. Under this head we reekon saered (τεμένη ἱερὰ καὶ ὅσια) or seeular (δημόσια) estates of eorporations, sueh as pastures, forests, arable lands, houses, salt works, rivers, lakes, &c., and mines. They were, as Böekh thinks, let by public auetion, on leases for terms of years, or on heritable leases. Theatres, too, were thus farmed out, as we find from an inseription still extant eoneerning the Piræan; the leaseholder, being bound to keep the building in repair, was thenee ealled the arehiteeton.

Mines.

The mines could be held only by citizens or Isoteleis, and were worked by hereditary or hired slaves. In Aleibiades' time they were less produetive than at an earlier period. The

mines were worked by tenants of various descriptions; some of them being held by individuals, some divided into shares. The property in them was secured by peculiar laws, which established a special procedure in questions concerning mines. The state sold the right of working mines, and received from the purchaser, in whose family this right became hereditary, the twenty-fourth part of the produce, in addition to the purchase-money. Themistocles proposed that the public revenue arising from the mines should be applied to ship-building, from which it may be inferred that they were then more productive than at a subsequent period. The revenue derived from them of course varied with the demand for the metal and the productiveness of the ores. The assertion, that the Athenians took possession of the mines of their allies is denied by Böckh, in his exhaustive inquiry into this interesting portion of ancient public economy *.

Tolls.

The tolls, another part of the revenue, included, besides the duties on exports and imports, the harbour and market dues, which last were probably paid by strangers only.

The export and import duties (amounting to two per cent.) attached upon all articles imported into the Piræus; the latter being levied when they were landed. Companies were formed to farm these tolls; one member, who gave his name, was called ἀρχώνης. The biddings took place under the white poplar. The income

* Memoirs of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences for the year 1815. (In the English translation of his Public Economy of Athens, vol. ii.)

arising from these sources was, naturally, very different in different times. The use of the harbour appears to have been connected with the duty of the hundredth part, or 1 per cent., which is often mentioned, but not adequately explained.

For the market there existed a kind of excise (ἐπώνιον, ἐπώνια), which was probably levied at the gate, as a διαπύλιον. As to the rate at which it was fixed, the accounts are indistinct; but we can hardly imagine the total amount to have been great. A more important branch of the revenue must have been the twentieth part of all exports and imports levied in the dependent allied cities. From the number of those cities, this must certainly have been extremely productive. This duty, which also was farmed, was preferred to a more unpopular tax. In the wantonness, however, of power, which took advantage of the favourable and commanding situation of Byzantium, the twentieth was raised to a tenth.

Tithes.

Tithes, or tenths, properly a tribute paid by the possessor of property of which he had not the free and entire disposal, were levied in Athens only upon portions of land held in usufruct; as, for instance, estates belonging to temples. The oppressiveness of this tax, which, among others, was felt in the time of Pisistratus, shows that it had been generally imposed by piety or by conquest. Men gave to the gods lands, the usufruct of which was subject to a deduction or charge of a tenth, and this tenth was appropriated to the maintenance and service of the temple; or victors compelled the conquered to pay the same charge on their lands in support of some favourite shrine. The patron goddess

of Athens was more especially honoured with the tenths of all spoils, fines, and prizes taken at sea, while other gods and heroes were fain to put up with a fiftieth.

Metœcium.

An item in the revenue of Athens, which was rendered considerable by the concourse of strangers attracted by the activity of her trade, the splendour of her festivals, and the fame of her civilization, was the protection-tax of the Metœci (*μετοίκιον*). This tax, which was generally introduced in the Greek states, amounted in Athens to twelve drachmæ yearly. In families which had no male representative, the mother paid six drachmæ; but this ceased as soon as her son came into possession of his full rights. Cases of exemption from the Metœcium (*ἀτέλεια μετοικίου*) on any peculiar grounds of favour, were rare. This part of the public income, too, was collected by farmers (*τελῶναι*); and if the Metœci could not pay, they were sold for slaves. Böckh calculates the yearly proceeds of this tax at twenty-one talents.

Slaves' poll-tax.

Slaves also were subject to a regular tax of three obols per head, which, reckoning their number at two hundred thousand for the whole of Attica, would give thirty-three talents. It seems unjust that when slaves, by their emancipation, entered the class of Metœci, they should have continued to pay these three obols, the mark of servitude, in addition to their protection-money as freedmen; but Böckh adduces many reasons for thinking that this was the case. The accurate researches, indeed, of this learned writer into the finances of Athens lead us to conclude that the busi-

ness of daily life, and almost every occupation of non-citizens, were subject to taxation, although we are not always in possession of documents to prove the precise amount. The only distinct record we have is of one of those taxes which were yearly farmed out. It is unfortunate for the honour of Athens that this should happen to be the πορνικὸν τέλος, which was proportioned to the supposed earnings of the payer; and which, according to all appearances, brought a considerable sum to the state.

The following were also important sources of supply to the public treasury of Athens:—

Judicial fees and fines.

The judicial fees and fines (τιμήματα), which were rendered more considerable by the obligation imposed on the allies to seek justice in Athens. On the other hand, the importance of this tax was diminished by the stop put to all judicial proceedings by every internal war.

An example of these judicial fees is to be found in the Prytaneia (τὰ πρυτανεῖα), a judicial deposit which, in every court excepting that of the Diætetæ, the plaintiff and defendant were compelled to pay down at the commencement of the suit. The payment therefore of this deposit perfectly corresponded with the Roman Sacramentum. If these Prytaneia* were not deposited, the plaint was quashed by the magistrate who superintended the initial proceedings. The party who lost the suit was compelled to pay both the Prytaneia; i. e. to leave his own in the hands of the court, and to replace what had been

* This name refers to the old national sanctuary where justice was first administered.

paid back to the winning party. The amount was not very great, but was accurately adjusted to the actual money-value of the thing which formed the subject of the suit.

We sometimes find these Prytaneia confounded with the Paracatabole,—the general name for any sum of money paid into a court of justice. The Parastasis, another sort of fee, was paid immediately to the Diætetæ on occasion of lesser causes tried before them.

But there was yet another sort of Parastasis amounting to a drachma, which was paid on occasion of various criminal proceedings (*δίκαι δημοσίαι, κατηγορίαι*). The Prytaneia and Parastasis were applied by the state as wages to the judges, and in certain cases the Paracatabole also.

The public treasury never received any benefit from the Epobelia, a fine imposed in cases of pecuniary actions, amounting to a sixth part of the value of the matter under litigation, and awarded to the successful litigant. Epobelia.

Other fines, which were distinguished by the common name of valuations (*τιμήματα*), were more profitable to the revenue. They were comparatively low, so long as money itself was scarce, but, at a later period, rose to very considerable sums, payable either to the court of justice, or to some temple. Valuations.

Whoever stole, or otherwise unlawfully appropriated money belonging to the state, was bound to restore it two-fold; if it had been devoted to the service of the gods, ten-fold.

Unintentional injuries were compensated by the

simple amount of the damage; intentional, by that of twice the amount. Where compensation in damages to be determined by the court could not be demanded, a fixed sum was exacted from the author of the injury, the amount of which, in many cases, does not appear to have been adjusted with much regard to equity; for example, the amount in cases of injury by slander was five hundred drachmæ.

When the subject of a suit admitted of valuation, an estimate was made by the plaintiff and a counter-estimate by the defendant, and the court decided by adopting the one or the other. Any remission of the damages was at the good pleasure of the plaintiff, but the court had the right (conferred by a decree of the people) of raising the estimate, and thus enhancing the punishment. Whether the fine fell to the state or to the plaintiff depended on the form of the plaint, which might take the shape either of a private action, or of a public accusation. In the latter case alone the state had a claim.

Collection of fines.

But the public treasury of Athens derived little advantage from this, or from any other fine which it was the duty of the authorities to collect. Not only was this duty negligently performed, but every possible means were resorted to by parties interested, to deceive them as to the amount of their property. The non-payment of these fines rendered a man a public debtor (τῷ δημοσίῳ ὀφείλων), the immediate consequence of which was atimy, or loss of civil rights; and, in aggravated cases, probably imprisonment also. Remission of a payment imposed in the way of punish-

ment could not be granted without the observance of formalities which attested the assent of six thousand Athenians *.

The ordinary punishment for murder, sacrilege, treason, and for all crimes visited by sentence of the Areopagus with banishment, was confiscation and sale by public auction of the criminal's goods; — a punishment which unhappily was in high favour with the states of antiquity, because, in those communities, the power of pursuing public offences was not vested exclusively in a public officer, but resided in every citizen.

A third part of the property of every citizen, male or female, who was convicted of marrying an alien, went to the informer or prosecutor; and this readily explains the vigilance with which the Athenians watched the Metœci, and the degree to which a zeal for justice was stimulated by avarice.

The state, however, gained comparatively little from these measures, as a considerable portion of the fines went to the treasury of the goddess. In cases of treason, a tenth, &c.†

If the defender of the accused was successful in exciting compassion for his heirs, a small part of the property was sometimes rescued for his family.

On the other hand, the most important source of income to the Athenian treasury was:—

The tribute of the allies (φόρος). This, though represented in a passage of Pausanias, as a financial measure of Aristides, is indis- Tribute of the Allies.

* Quere, All the Heliasts?

† On this entire subject see Meier, De Bonis Damnatorum et Fiscalium Debitorum, Berol. 1819. 8vo.

putably of an earlier origin, since it is one which would so naturally suggest itself. From the time that Athens stood at the head of the Hellenic states, our accounts concerning this obligation to pay tribute are most complete and accurate. The name φόρος then first came into use. At first, the treasury at Delos, where the meetings of the several states were held, was under the presidency of the Athenian Hellenotamiæ. Aristides had fixed the amount of the tribute at four hundred and sixty talents yearly, and had accurately determined which of the several states should furnish money and which ships. It was mainly to the equity of this apportionment that he owed the name of the Just.

The states allied with Athens for their common defence had, at that time, a share in the deliberations, and were autonomous; but Athens, under various plausible pretexts, had the address to destroy the warlike character of her allies, and thus to remove them from any participation in the conduct of affairs. The tyrannous use of her power, and the severity of her exactions, rose in proportion to her success in this design.

In pursuance of the proposal made by the Samians, for the sake, as was pretended, of greater security, the treasure of the allies was transported to the citadel of Athens and deposited in the opisthodomus of the Parthenon *, and from this time, the allies were, in effect, merely Athenian subjects. Pericles, under whose care the money was placed, first taught the Athenian people to render no account to the allies. The resources which the state derived from this measure enabled him to raise the splendid works of

* Olymp. 79. 4.

art with which he adorned the city. The augmentation of the tribute was not, however, considerable; it rose no higher than six hundred talents. But Alcibiades raised it suddenly to double the amount at which it had been fixed by Aristides, and from the time of Pericles it was no longer applied to the purpose for which it had originally been levied. The apportionment, too, was so oppressive that citizens of the allied states not unfrequently abandoned their country to avoid the exaction.

In the second year of the ninety-first Olympiad, the demagogues hit upon an expedient for placing the tribute (which, owing to the oppressive nature of the apportionment, was collected with difficulty, and afforded but an uncertain revenue) on a secure and determinate footing. They introduced the duty of the twentieth (εἰκοστή), and this arrangement subsisted down to the battle of Ægos Potamos, which put an end to the tribute, together with the Hellenotamiæ, the officers by whom it was administered. Perhaps this levy of a twentieth yielded the sum of thirteen hundred talents; the amount which we find occasionally mentioned.

Athens soon recovered from the disaster of Ægos Potamos; her old relations with her allies were probably restored, and subsisted until the peace of Antalcidas once more threw her back upon her own resources. Our information as to the respective contributions of the several states to the abovementioned sum, is imperfect and inaccurate. Xenophon reckons the tribute at a thousand talents in his time, which would give £243,182. The reports of later writers, however, do not perfectly coincide with this.

Aristophanes talks of two thousand talents, but Böckh reduces this sum to eighteen hundred. The treasury, and the key of it, were under the care of the Epistates of the Prytanes, who was changed daily. The treasurer of the gods and of the goddess had, however, access to the treasury. The treasure itself consisted in coined money, bars and vessels of metal, or ornaments of the statues of the gods. There is reason to think that the rich goblets and crowns were not always guarded by the purest hands. The most important sources of information on this subject are inscriptions; since unhappily the *comptes rendus* of the orator Lycurgus, the greatest financier of antiquity, and other similar documents, the loss of which we have so much reason to regret, have not come down to us.

Liturgies.

Lastly, although they cannot be reckoned among the regular sources of revenue (προσοδοι), we must mention the sort of aids furnished by individuals to the state, which were called liturgies, and which were distinguished from other taxes in kind, inasmuch as they made no less demands on the personal exertions of the contributors than on their fortunes. In so far, however, as they spared the expenditure of the public money, these liturgies may be reckoned as the fourth class of the regular revenue.

The name liturgy, which we find in use for these aids to the state, is derived from ἔργον and λῆτος, or λεῖτος, and means simply a *service for the public*. The introduction of them is of great antiquity, but they were not peculiar to the Athenians. Annually recurring contributions of this description, or regular liturgies (ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι), were,

a.) The Choregia, or the obligation of furnishing the chorus (but that only) in the plays, and of providing it with every thing necessary to its appearance. The choregus was compelled to pay a teacher appointed by lot (χοροδιδάσκαλος) to instruct the singers and musicians who were collected together at great pains and cost, and to maintain these latter during the whole of their training. He had also to furnish the building, and the dresses of the chorus, masks, decorations, crowns, &c. We find from distinct accounts, that the tragic chorus was always more costly than the comic or satyric. No man possessed of less than three talents could be required by his tribe to undertake this liturgy, which, in its quality of contest, entitled the victor to the honour of a tripod, whereon his own name together with that of his tribe were inscribed. Choregia.

In case of any deficiency of choregi, one individual might serve for two tribes at the same time. But if a choregus failed to supply all that was requisite for the liturgy, he was compelled by the magistrates to make good the deficiency. Böckh estimates the outlay to a rich Athenian citizen at twelve hundred drachmæ, one year with another. After the hundred and sixth Olympiad, however, the times were such that every tribe was not in a condition to furnish a choregus. This brought about an important change in the comic drama. The chorus lost its original character, and was converted into a speaking and acting personage.

b.) The Gymnasiarchy, i. e. the providing of the sacred games (as, for example, the torch-race), which were performed by persons Gymnasiarchy.

trained to the purpose. In later times this office also comprehended the superintendence of the training schools, in which the future combatants in those games prepared themselves under the direction of teachers. These were costly, not only from the care and maintenance of the combatants, but still more so from the torches which were required at the four torch-festivals of Athens, and also from the illumination of the arena.

c.) The repasts given to the tribe (ἑστίασις), in which one of the tribe, chosen on account of his wealth, officiated as host, and assembled all of the same tribe around a simple table. Meat was, however, doubtless served, and seven hundred drachmæ, the sum assigned by Böckh, seems a very moderate estimate of the cost.

Tribe-feasts.

d.) The Architheory, or embassy to the sacred games and festivals.

Architheory.

The eager competition for popularity and distinction which characterized the Athenian citizens and led them to vie with each other in munificence, and rather to go beyond than to fall short of what was required of them, can alone account for the duration of an institution which was not susceptible of any equal distribution. These regular liturgies afforded to those who courted popular favour a convenient instrument of corruption; but although they were thus rendered more endurable to the contributors, Aristotle's disapprobation of them was certainly well founded *.

* Politics, v. 8. *βέλτιον δὲ καὶ βουλομένους κωλύειν λειτουργεῖν τὰς δαπανηρὰς μὲν μὴ χρησίμους δὲ λειτουργίας, οἷον χορηγίας καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τοιαῦται.*

The remedy open to him who felt that the exactions of a liturgy would press too heavily upon him, was singular. He was permitted by law to propose to another man, whom he thought richer than himself, an exchange of property (ἀντίδοσις); a proposal which the latter was not at liberty to accept, without taking upon himself the burthen of the liturgy. At least this was the law as regarded the Trierarchy, one of the extraordinary liturgies, towards which the state gave considerable subsidies. The state gave the ship to the Trierarch, while he, on the other hand, was bound to furnish the whole outfit, and to keep it in perfect repair. The crew was taken from among the people, and was paid and fed by the state.

Antidosis.

Trierarchy.

In order to give greater order and regularity to these liturgies, companies were formed, called Symmoriæ. Twelve hundred of the wealthiest citizens associated together, and acted in concert under the guidance of a committee of three hundred. The company was divided into twenty classes, and parties (συντέλειαι) of five or six undertook the fitting out of a ship.

Symmoriæ.

Demosthenes altered the constitution of these Symmoriæ by distributing the burthen according to the estimated means of the contributors. The possessor of ten talents was bound to fit out a trireme; those whose property was below that sum formed themselves into a Synteleia, till the ten talents were made up. But the duty of personal service, which was incident to every liturgy, obliged the party providing the trireme to command, or at least to accompany it.

The great expense of this liturgy exempted the contributor, so long as it lasted, from all regular contributions. Two liturgies could not be required from any man at once, nor could he be called upon to serve even one oftener than every other year. Orphans were exempted (ἀτελεῖς) from all liturgies, till the expiration of a year after their coming of age. Exemption from liturgies was also granted in consideration of remarkable public services. The Metœci were bound to furnish to the public festal processions certain contributions, which also were styled liturgies. After the resources of the state had been exhausted by the Sicilian war, it was permitted by a decree of the people that the Choregia might be served by a company, instead of a single individual.

Totally different from these aids, and irreconcilable with the characteristic feature of a liturgy, namely, personal participation in it, was the advance of the property-tax (προεισφορά), which was called a liturgy. This has given rise to the erroneous opinion that the property-tax itself (εἰσφορά) was regarded as a liturgy. It is true that periods of war increased the pressure of the liturgies; but even these demands bore some proportion to the profits of capital, and the general lowness of prices.

Farmers and collectors of taxes.

In order to secure the regular revenue, it was usual, as we have already mentioned, to farm the various duties. Besides the farmers (τελῶναι, ὠνούμενοι τὸ τέλος) we have to notice the sureties (ἔγγυοι), and lastly the collectors (ἐκλογεῖς). In naming these men, we suggest the whole train of evils which await every country delivered over to their vexations. If the farmer was not punctual to

the time of payment, he was detained in prison till the ninth Prytaneia, by which period he was required to discharge his debt. From that date his debt doubled, and if he delayed payment of this, his property was confiscated. The farmer was obliged to advance a portion of the purchase-money (*προκαταβολή*) at the time of entering upon his office; and the government (which was always in want of ready money during the first Prytaneia) could compel him by imprisonment to perform the obligation. The residue of the purchase-money was afterwards paid as *προκατάβλημα*, for which sureties were bound, up to the time of payment.

Property-tax.

Though all these items of the public revenue may be regarded as regular, it is not to be supposed that they were always equally productive. The want of a regular tax, founded on the basis of landed or immoveable property (*οὐσία φανερά* in contradistinction to *οὐσία ἀφανής*, moveable property)*, was not felt in a state, where, in earlier times, a treasury regularly filled covered a considerable expenditure, where the profits from the mines were shared by the citizens, and where the munificent rivalry of the wealthy afforded a last and certain resource. It is therefore

* *ἀφανὴς οὐσία καὶ φανερά· ἀφανὴς μὲν ἡ ἐν χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι καὶ σκεύεσι, φανερὰ δὲ ἡ ἔγγειος*, Harpocration. Landed property was called *apparent* or *visible*, because its existence could always be ascertained, and a creditor could always have recourse to it; whereas, money, slaves, furniture, and other moveables, might be secreted or carried away, and thus afforded a less tangible security. The ground of this phraseology seems so obvious as scarcely to require explanation; if it had not presented a difficulty to so acute a philologist as Grimm: Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 565.—*Transl.*

erroneous to suppose that Solon's census was the basis of a property-tax, inasmuch as the immediate object of that measure was, to determine the liabilities of the citizens to the several classes of military service, and to liturgies, and their claims to a share in the government. It was not till a much later age *, when the country had been exhausted by the Peloponnesian war, that a property-tax was proposed as an extraordinary impost. The amount of property of each class fixed by the census, upon which the tax was raised in the way of interest upon capital, has been calculated with admirable acuteness by Böckh, and nothing but want of space prevents our following him through the accurate details of his inquiry.

This valuation was founded on registers (ἀπογραφαί), which, before Clisthenes' time, were kept by the Nauerari, and afterwards by the Demarchs. Alterations in Solon's system of valuation were introduced in the Archonship of Nausinicus†; but the accounts we have of the system which was then adopted are unsatisfactory. It is however clear that the distinction between property (οὐσία) and that portion of it which was liable to taxation (τίμημα, the taxable capital), was steadily adhered to, and consequently the amount of the tax (εἰσφορά) determined by it; and Böckh's inquiries make it probable that, with relation to the citizens of the first class, the fifth part of the property was rated as taxable; with relation to the other classes, less than a fifth. The Metœci seem to have been rated upon a sixth of their property. The whole taxable capital amounted, under Nausinicus, to 5750 talents. This property-tax was secured and collected by twenty

* Olymp. 88. 1. † Olymp. 100. 3.

Symmoriæ, which were formed of one hundred and twenty of the richer members of each of the ten Phylæ.

The highest financial authority was, as has already been mentioned, the Senate, under whose superintendence were the ten Poletæ. It was the duty of these officers to collect monies due from the farmers of the revenue, together with the rest of the public income, and also to secure the persons of those Metœci who owed arrears of their tribute. The Poletæ consisted of one out of each tribe; one of them presided as Prytanis. At the auctions of the public revenue, where the farmers employed every device of cunning and of corruption to obtain them at a low rate, the Poletæ were assisted by the directors of the Theoricon. The Poletæ held their sittings in the Poleterion. Financial authorities.

The funds belonging to the temples were administered by the guardians of the sanctuaries, and moneys payable to courts of justice were collected by the Practores.

The administration of the tribute of the allies was entrusted to the ἐπιγραφεῖς; the collection of money due from defaulters, to the ἐκλογεῖς.

The presidents of the tribes were bound to watch over the service of the liturgies. The extraordinary property-tax seems to have been levied under the same regulations as the tribute. It was the office of the Apodectæ to see that the public revenues were paid into the treasury, where they remained under the guardianship of the treasurers.

The temples had their own treasurer, who was changed yearly.

A more important functionary than these, or

even than the treasurer of Athens, was the treasurer of the public revenues (ταμίας or ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου), who was elected by the people for four years, and whose office it was to place the monies received from the Apodectæ in their respective depositories, and to superintend the regular peace-expenditure.

The most disagreeable and difficult office was that of paymaster of the war-expenses, who, when the tribute was not sufficient to meet the extraordinary demands incident to war, was obliged to resort to the extraordinary property-tax, and to other unusual sources of supply. The people, however, neither liked to divert these extraordinary aids from the purposes of the Theoricon, nor to pay the extraordinary property-tax. The consequence was that the resources of the state, which were administered with small regard to economy or to honesty, were continually in default.

Two sets of clerks were attached to the above-named financial officers; the business of the former was to keep the public accounts; that of the latter, to prepare the reports which were laid before the Logistæ and the Euthyni. The Logistæ (or auditors of public accounts) were ten in number, but whether they were one and the same with the Euthyni, or a different body, is the subject of an animated controversy between Hermann and Böckh. The latter is of opinion that they were distinct officers; he believes the former to have been the accountants, the latter, the auditors or judges of the accounts. Hermann regards the ten Euthyni, with their twenty assessors, the Paredri, as identical with the Logistæ;

and until more perfect sources of information have been discovered than any we at present possess, the latter opinion will continue to have probability on its side. The functions of the Logistæ, which were entrusted to them by special commission, could not always be performed within a determinate time. The accounts, engraved on stone, were publicly exhibited. The treasurers of the temples were also bound to exhibit theirs, from Panathenæa to Panathenæa. Some of these latter accounts have been preserved to the present day.

In case the regular resources of the state did not suffice for its wants, the antients were not ignorant of the expedients of modern financiers; subsidies (from Persia, for instance); letters of marque, which, however, produced but little, as nearly all the captured property belonged to the captors; prize-money; contributions (ἀργυρολογεῖν), which were imposed and collected with audacious caprice, and lastly, voluntary aids (ἐπιδόσεις), were all resorted to. Financial expedients.

A still more questionable measure was that brought into discredit by the elder Dionysius and Hippias the Pisistratid; the forcing base coin into circulation at the rate of good money. It encountered universal disapprobation. During the time of her freedom, Athens possessed a good silver coinage, numerous specimens of which are extant. In the second year of the ninety-third Olympiad, there was a coinage of impure gold, procured from the melting of some statues of Victory; and in the following year, copper was put into circulation, but was soon after called in. As there had always been an Athe- Debasement of the currency.

nian copper coin, the Chaleus (χαλκοῦς), the one in question must have been of a different value. It probably was intended as a substitute for some silver coin, perhaps the obol.

Monetary system.

A brief statement of the Athenian monetary system may be properly inserted here. The denominations used for calculation were, the talent, the mina, the drachma, and the obol, which stood in the following relations to one another.

Talent (τάλαντον)	1.			
Mina (μνᾶ)	-	60	-	1.
Drachma (δραχμή)	6000	-	100	- 1.
* Obol (ὀβολός)	36000	-	600	- 6 - 1

The denomination usually employed in reckoning was the drachma, which therefore is always to be understood wherever a sum of money, unaccompanied by any notice of the denomination, occurs in an Attic writer.

The talent and mina were only *moneys of account*. The drachma was the highest Attic *coin*, and by it the standard of the currency was determined. The weight and fineness of the silver drachma of Attica do not appear to have varied materially, from the age of Solon to the loss of the independence of the republic; according to the newest and most accurate researches, it weighed about 66½ English grains; which weight gives the following values for the four principal denominations of Attic money.

* Wachsmuth derives ὀβολός from ὀβελός; and conceives it to have been originally a small bar of copper, of which six made a handful—δραχμή. Hellenische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii. part 1, p. 71.—*Transl.*

	£	s.	d.
Talent - -	243	15	0
Mina - -	4	1	3
Drachma - -			$9\frac{3}{4}$
Obol - -			$1\frac{1}{2}$*

The obol was divided into eight chalci, the chalcus into seven lepta. Its subdivisions were only coined in copper. But in early times all the Athenian money, down to half-obols, was coined in silver.

The Attic gold coin, the chrysus (χρυσοῦς), also called the stater (στατήρ), was equal in weight to two silver drachms, and in value to twenty. It was extremely pure (excepting during the abovementioned deterioration), as were also the double stater and the half stater. The specimens which have come down to us are, however, of the greatest rarity †.

It is to be observed that the name talent is also used for a certain weight of gold, according to which the goldsmiths estimated their work. According to Pollux, it weighed three staters, or six drachmæ, and this renders intelligible the accounts of crowns of a hundred talents in gold.

The ratio of gold to silver remained nearly stationary. Its average in the earlier times was 10 : 1.

Trade, though despised by the free citizens, was yet favoured by the state, and was subject to no restrictions. It was chiefly in the hands of the resident aliens; yet distinguished and wealthy

Trade.

* See Hussey's Essay on Ancient Weights and Moneys (Oxford, 1836), pp. 21, 51.—*Transl.*

† On the question of the existence of an Attic gold coinage, see the able discussion of Mr. Hussey in the work just cited, ch. 5.—*Transl.*

citizens did not disdain to direct great manufactories, and to receive the profits of them. Many things, as, for instance, arms, metal wares, lamps, woollen stuffs, utensils of all sorts, leather articles, &c. were required for Athenian consumption; and consequently goods were wanted to exchange with the importing nations, who, if they found no freight to carry home, were paid in coin. The deigma, the place where the various commodities were exposed for sale, was crowded with foreigners from all parts. Restrictions on trade, with a view to the encouragement of domestic manufactures and industry, were unknown. There were, however, monopolies and prohibitions on the exportation of certain commodities, as, for example, of corn; likewise of naval stores in time of war. The price of salt was also fixed for a time.

The prices of articles of the first necessity were moderate; and the interest of money proportionably high, amounting at the least to ten per cent. (ἐπὶ πέντε ὀβολοῖς), or twelve per cent. (ἐπὶ δραχμῇ). As money-transactions were mostly carried on through money-changers, credit was little diffused.

Chapter XVI.

Attic Law — Magistrates — Hegemony — Judges — Courts — Sittings — Classes of persons under the protection of the law—Public and private plaints—Procedure, criminal and civil—Eisangelia—Punishments—Law of debtor and creditor.

From money transactions we are naturally led to their inseparable concomitants, courts of justice.

We shall proceed to take a cursory view of Attic law, though the limits of this work will allow us to do little more than indicate the subjects which have been ably and copiously illustrated by several modern writers*.

In considering the law of Attica, we should be inclined to judge too severely of its want of system and coherency, were we to forget the manner in which it arose. In the legislation of Solon, so far as it is known to us, we can indeed detect traces of a principle of unity, but the enactments of later times were unsystematic additions to his laws. We must also carefully bear in mind that the democratic form of the commonwealth had the most powerful influence on the administration of justice. The decision of cases brought before courts of justice was not a right vested in certain officers inflexibly

Attic law.

* See Heffter, Meier, Schömann, Platner, Bunsen, Hudtwalker. These writers have thrown so much light on the subject, that the Themis Attica of Meursius is completely antiquated.

bound by written statutes with which they were intimately acquainted, but the privilege of the mass of the sovereign-citizens, who decided in each particular case according to their discretion and conscience; and though this institution may at the first glance appear to have some resemblance to the jury of modern times, we soon perceive that the Athenian courts of justice, consisting as they did of large numbers of judges, were little bound by precedent or form, when compared with the members of a jury.

Magistrates.

The Presidents of the courts had no other power than that of initiating the plaints which fell within their peculiar department, together with the conduct of the formal part of the process, the *jurisdictio*, which was denoted by the word ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου. Hence they were called, with reference to their judicial authority, Hegemons of the court (ἡγεμόνες δικαστηρίου), and, in so far as they themselves brought the matters before the court, εἰσαγωγεῖς, or *introducers*. The holding a public office gave a claim to this hegemony.

The qualifications required at the preliminary examination (δοκιμασία, ἀνάκρισις) were those generally required in other cases; viz., pure Athenian descent, the worship of the national gods, reverence for parents, performance of military service, and fulfilment of all other civil obligations.

It was to the nine archons that hegemony more peculiarly belonged; the first of whom, the Eponymus, held his justice-seat in the market, in front of the statues of the twelve ancestral heroes. Questions

concerning family affairs and the rights of the several orders of citizens, were brought more particularly before him.

The archon king, who sat in the royal hall, had jurisdiction in matters of religion.

The polemarch had the hegemony in questions regarding aliens. The judicial affairs of the Metœci fell, in consequence, within his jurisdiction. The place of his sittings is unknown.

It is difficult to define the jurisdiction of the Thesmothetæ, but we may assume that the majority of civil actions came within their department. We find mention of a place appropriated to their sittings, and named after them.

Another authority possessing the hegemony was *the eleven*, who had the right of instituting proceedings against thieves, robbers, and murderers (κακοῦργοι), and who were also inspectors of prisons and superintendents of the execution of capital punishments. Lawsuits arising out of confiscation of property, lay also within their competence; probably because the idea of κακοῦργοι, or malefactors, included offenders against the property of the state, as well as against that of individuals.

The judicial powers of the Poletæ, as financial authorities appointed to enforce the claims of the public treasury, and of the syndics, who, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, were charged with the conduct of the confiscations, which were then frequent, and therefore ceased with the exigencies of the time, claim a passing notice, since mention of them frequently occurs. Together with them, we may also adduce as hegemons, the logistæ, the euthyni, the nautodicæ;

and as police authorities, the ἀgoranomi, sitophylaces, metronomi, astynomi, gynæconomi.

For the preservation of discipline, the ten strategi were invested with the power of summoning a court-martial composed of the comrades of the criminal. They also acted in this court as prosecutors or denouncers of those offences which elsewhere (in Sparta, for example) were punished by the commander himself, in virtue of the full powers delegated to him. But we are not justified in concluding that the democratical principle was pushed to such an extreme, that the punishment of all violations of military duty, such as desertion, cowardice, &c., was deferred until the termination of the campaign afforded opportunity for prosecution by the strategus. Probably a court-martial was summoned to try criminals taken in the fact; by which means, indeed, accident might often invest a man with the duties of judge, whom it was necessary to replace by one better qualified.

As essential to the conduct of the business of the courts may be mentioned the criers, the scribes or clerks, and the inferior officers (ὑπηρέται), who were taken out of the class of the Scythians.

The hegemons of the courts presided generally over the proceedings, and drew up the judgment.

The foregoing historical sketch of the changes in the constitution of Athens has already contained some details concerning the courts of justice*. Any further description of the Arcopagus or the Senate, regarded as courts of justice, may therefore be dispensed with here.

* Above, pp. 236, 244.

Six thousand ecclesiasts, past the age of thirty, were chosen by lot from the assembly of the people, and sat as judges in the several courts; at the same time retaining their places as members of the ecclesia*. From this number the several divisions destined to sit in the particular courts were again chosen by lot. The whole body was likewise divided into ten classes, *dicasteria*, each of which contained five hundred individuals; thus leaving a reserve of a thousand to act as substitutes for any of the others in case of need. Every citizen thus chosen by lot to fill the office of judge received a staff, as has been already mentioned†, and a tablet (πινάκιον), upon which his name, together with that of his father and his demus, was placed against the letter denoting the class to which he belonged. The letters on these tablets ran from A to K, and corresponded with the letters inscribed on the main entrances of the most important courts. Thus each judge knew his proper place in an instant. Judges.

Ten courts are specially mentioned, their names being chiefly taken from their localities. In later times, however, their number was greater. Besides the four courts of the Ephetæ already mentioned‡, whose more especial business it was to try persons accused of homicide, there was (fifthly) the Heliæa§, which (probably under the presidence of the Thesmothetæ) decided in a variety of important cases. The name of he- Courts.

* See above, p. 248. † Above p. 259.

‡ Above, p. 237.

§ A different form of ἀλία, the Doric name for *assembly*: see above, p. 177.

liasts, which was more peculiarly applied to the judges of this tribunal, was, however, the general name of the judicial section of the ecclesia, and the oath of the heliasts was the oath common to all judges. The purport of this oath was, that the person taking it was not less than thirty years old; that he would never vote for the establishment of tyranny or of oligarchy in Athens, and never listen to any proposition tending to the destruction of the democracy; that he would consent neither to the cancelling of private debts, nor to the division of lands, houses, &c.; and that he would neither receive presents himself nor allow others to receive them*. Most of the obligations of the oath had no relation to the judicial functions.

Other courts were the Odeon, the Trigonon (triangle), the new Dicasterion (καινὸν), the court near the statue of Lycus, the Parabyston, and some others of which nothing is known but the name. The Eleven sat as judges in the Parabyston.

The courts sat daily, except on festival days, when all public business (χρηματίζειν) was forbidden, or on unlucky days (ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι), or when a meeting of the ecclesia interfered. Unfavourable omens (διοσημεῖα), which were regarded as important by the Exegetæ, might also prevent the sittings of the courts. Private plaints or actions were not heard during war, as all private business was then suspended. The regular holidays occupied about a hundred days in the year. Of holidays

* The entire oath is preserved in the speech of Demosthenes against Timocrates, p. 746, ed. Reiske.

which are supposed to have fallen in Scirophorion, no decisive testimonies have come down to us.

All free Athenians, who were of age, and masters of their own property (κύριοι), had a right to appear as plaintiffs in any suit. Not so aliens, who were interdicted from coming forward as accusers in most public actions. They could appear only by their proxenos, whose business it was to assert or defend their claims, when any legal intercourse existed between the country of which they were natives and Athens. In like manner, Isoteles, Metœci, and freedmen, could only sue in the person of their prostates. Persons competent to sue and be sued.

Slaves could not be parties to any suit. They were liable to legal duties, and could exercise legal rights, only through their master. Atimy seems likewise to have involved the loss of the privilege of suing. He who was in the power of another was represented by the person possessing that power; as the ward by his guardian, the son, during his minority, by his father, the wife by her husband; in criminal cases, however, married women were compelled to appear in person. Corporate bodies, and in general every *persona moralis*, were liable to be sued.

As a general rule, the plaintiff and defendant were both bound to appear in person before the court, and deputies or substitutes do not seem to have been allowed. It was, however, permitted to employ an advocate or pleader (συνήγορος) to assist in the conduct of the proceedings. There was another kind of legal assistant, who was occasionally called in to explain particular circumstances agitated at the

moment. Such persons were called παράκλητοι. In Cicero's time there were also jurisconsults who were qualified to give advice or information on legal questions. These *pragmatici*, however, did not enjoy much consideration at that period.

Procedure.

In treating of Attic procedure, to which the ἀνάκρισις was a necessary preliminary, we must distinguish between plaints for private, and plaints for public, injuries. The former, private plaints or civil actions, were called δίκαι; the latter, γραφαί, public plaints or prosecutions. This distinction was not, however, rigorously adhered to, since plaints for homicide (an act by which the state is manifestly damaged in the person of its citizens) were classed among the δίκαι. There was also an intermediate kind of actions, in which, as far as form was concerned, the rights or interests of an individual only were violated, but besides exacting the compensation due to this individual, the state could avenge its offended dignity; and to this end it treated the injury sustained by the individual as of so heinous a nature, that it was bound to demand satisfaction in the name of the whole body, whose civil dignity and security were thus assailed.

The first appearance in court was generally thirty days after the commencement of the plaint, which was accompanied by the deposit of the prytaneia; but delay might be procured by the defendant, on allegation of certain obstructions, if supported by testimony on oath; and the simple declaration of the plaintiff was sufficient to obtain the postponement of the day of trial. Third persons, even though not invested

with full powers, might appear as representatives of either party whose non-appearance was justified on legal grounds. It was, however, competent to the opposite party to object to the validity of the excuses for non-appearance.

On the day appointed for hearing, the causes came on in the order prescribed by the clerk. The crier summoned the parties into court, probably after the judges had taken their seats. The decision of the judges was to be perfectly independent of the opinions of the president; and, whether on the side of acquittal or of condemnation, was on no account to be anticipated. The time allowed to the pleader was measured by the water-clock; when that had run out, another cause was called. The quantity of water with which the clock was filled, under the direction of the Archon, varied according to the importance of the business, and it was allowable to stop it during the production of evidence or the reading of documents. An inspection of the water-clocks seems to have taken place in the month Posideon. In strictness, the plaint was to be answered point by point, and the answer was to contain nothing irrelevant nor recriminatory; though examples of the disregard of these rules are abundantly frequent.

After the pleadings had been heard, the judges were called upon by the crier for their decision. Sometimes, however, having made up their minds on the evidence already adduced, they interrupted the pleader in the midst of his speech and pronounced their judgment. Sometimes, too, when they were persuaded of the innocence of the accused, they

called out, "Down from the orator's stone" (*καταβα*), which exclamation, however,—at least, in the Wasps of Aristophanes*,—only seems to have been intended to put the judges on their guard against suffering their feelings to be too much worked upon. The question as to the sentence was always so framed that it could be answered by Yes or No. The mode of voting was secret. Every judge had two balloting pebbles (in earlier times shells), one entire, to express acquittal, one with a hole through it, to express condemnation. Two vases, sometimes called *κάδοι, καδίσκοι*, one of copper with a cleft in the lid, and one of wood, were placed before them; into the former the tablets which expressed their decision (whence it was called *ἀμφορεὺς κύριος, πρότερος*) were dropped unperceived; into the latter, those which were not used and remained over and above, were thrown (hence *ἀμφορεὺς ἄκυρος, ὕστερος*). After all the votes had been thus given in, they were counted into a box, and sentence pronounced accordingly. If the votes were equal, which, from the large number of the judges, could seldom occur, the prisoner was acquitted. Whether, when the judges would neither acquit nor condemn the accused, they threw both stones into the vase appropriated to receive the superfluous ones, we have no distinct testimony to show. Probably the sentence was recorded in writing and kept in the archives of the state (*μητρῷον*), at least in cases of public prosecution, as the plaint and the answer of the defendant were reduced to writing.

Crimes which needed no proof, and whose perpe-

* V. 279.

trators either made confession or were taken in the fact, were, according to the maxims of Athenian jurisprudence, visited with immediate punishment. This would have been inconsistent with the formalities of the regular proceedure; a summary process was therefore established by law, and was executed under the names Apagogè and Endeixis. This summary mode of trial assumed, however, that the offence admitted of no doubt; and its effect was that the delinquent might be instantly thrown into prison. Apagogè.

The Apagogè consisted in this; that the person caught in the fact (ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, which was required to be expressly stated in the indictment) was brought before the Eleven, before whom the proceeding could be regularly commenced. The house of the person thus accused was, however, inviolable. The Ephegesis was similar, only that in this form of proceeding the magistrates were taken to the spot where public property had been secreted or where criminals were concealed. In all other respects the proceedings were the same.

The Endeixis was a legal process directed against criminals who were prohibited by law from performing certain acts or from entering certain specified places, and who had violated these prohibitions. In such cases no formal investigation took place; since, in order to the infliction of the punishment, nothing was requisite, but that the judge should be made acquainted with the facts. Thus, the Endeixis was the proper form in the case of persons banished for the crime of homicide; of habitual contemners of religion who were caught in- Endeixis.

truding at any sacred rite; and more especially of public debtors who had wrongfully appropriated public funds. In all these cases the guilt of the accused was presumed, unless he could show grounds entitling him to a hearing and to a regular trial. The punishments were various. Where the Apagogè was the mode of trial, the punishment was frequently capital.

In civil cases, a summary proceeding of like description obtained in commercial and mining causes, and in matters relating to dowry and to insolvency, which were required to be decided within thirty days.

The privilege of pardon rested exclusively with the people.

Phasis.

One of the usual forms under which the ordinary and extraordinary plaints might be instituted, was the Phasis*, a fiscal plaint against persons guilty of illegal appropriation of taxes or other public property. It was brought in writing before the judicial authority to whose department the subject of the phasis belonged; but whoever commenced such a proceeding, and obtained less than a fifth part of the votes, was compelled to pay a fine of a thousand drachmæ.

Eisangelia.

There was also the Eisangelia (εἰσαγγελία), which has already been incidentally mentioned†. It was established for the punishment of those who committed injuries against pregnant women, widows, orphans, or heiresses; and so lenient was the law against the informer, that even if he

* Phasis is literally *information*. A *sycophant* is an informer. The nearest term of English law is "criminal information." —*Transl.*

† See p. 246.

did not obtain a single vote, he escaped without any penalty.

If, on the other hand, it was applied to extraordinary and unforeseen cases which were of importance to the state in general, the inquiry was transferred to the Boulè, which gave judgment, if the fine did not exceed five hundred draehmæ; otherwise it handed over the business to one of the ordinary courts, or even to the assembly of the people. Hence the Eisangelia may be placed on nearly the same footing with the μήνυσις and the προβολή; in like manner as the Phasis, as instituted for the protection of the pecuniary interests of the state, coincides with the ἀπογραφὴ and the ὑφήγησις. For the Apographè obtained in the particular case in which a person thought himself injured by the transfer of property to the state, in consequence of confiscation. The Hyphegesis is nearly the same with the Ephegesis, and the distinction made between them, which rests entirely upon the evidence of one lexicographer, is therefore not wholly free from doubt.

The object of the Probolè, which we have classed with μήνυσις, was, to enable the accused to excite a favourable opinion of his case by means of a statement of the accuser to the assembled people previously to his bringing it before the Hegemon of the court. Its main purpose was to obtain a preliminary decision, as to whether there were sufficient reason to subject the accused to an inquiry or not. Probolè.

The distinction between δίκη and διαδικασία must be particularly observed in respect of private plaints. The former extends only to an object which belongs

by legal title to one or the other party; whereas διαδικασία applies to an object to which several believe themselves to have an exclusive right.

If the accused in his written answer or plea (ἀντιγραφή), which he delivered in to the Hegemon of the court, met the entire charge by an absolute affirmative or negative, it was an εὐθυδικία; but if he put in several special pleas (παραγραφαί, which were also in writing), they were determined separately. When the issue had been determined by their mutual pleadings, and the matter was in a state to be brought into court, each party swore to the truth of his allegations. The administration of this oath, Diomosia and Antomosia, was the foundation of the further judicial proceedings, which ended at length in acquittal or condemnation. In public suits, this sentence was not unfrequently capital.

Punishments.

The mode of death was by the sword or by poison, by strangling or casting down into the Barathron, and was inflicted under the superintendence of the Eleven, by the public executioner (δήμιος, δημόκοινος). These executions could not take place during certain festvals. When a criminal condemned to death made his escape, his name was affixed to a certain pillar, he was outlawed, and a price was set upon his head. From the moment of the promulgation of their sentence, outlaws were deprived of civil rights. Thieves were set in the stocks in the public view. Corporal punishment, however, was not recognised by law.

Civil remedies.

In civil actions the state left the winning party to exact the compensation awarded to him by the court, provided the losing party was

not also sentenced to a public punishment. Excepting in that case, the successful party was at liberty, if his adversary had not been punctual to the prescribed time, to seize a portion of his property, or to turn him out of possession, for which purpose the sanction of judicial authorities was not requisite.

In commercial cases he was liable in his person as well as in his property. But if the plaintiff could not obtain satisfaction of his demands after they had been confirmed by the judgment of the court, he was free to resort to the δίκη ἐξούλης. This gave him a claim on the real property of the debtor, which was sold by the state; the proceeds of the sale being applied to the payment of the debt. The surplus went to the debtor.

But even here religion procured him some respite; for property could not be taken in execution on festival days.

Chapter XVII.

Athenian army—Union of civil and military character—Solemn admission of young men to public life—Constituent parts of the army—Cavalry—Infantry—Archers—Term of service—Art of war—Officers—Military honours—Superior importance of the navy—Ships—sailors—Naval tactics.

In Athens, the military power came in aid rather of public order than of the laws.

The Seythians, of whom mention has already been made*, are scarcely to be regarded as a part of the war-establishment. They were the body-guard of the Athenian people, and did not take the field with the army except in cases of necessity. The army itself, mainly composed of the citizens, was called together only in time of war, and was disqualified by its democratical constitution for becoming a standing army.

Union of civil and military life.

As soon as they had attained to the full vigour of manhood (ἥβη), the sons of Athenian citizens entered into public life as Ephebi, and after two years spent in martial exercises, in their eighteenth (or, according to some accounts, which appear less accurate, in their twentieth) year, appeared at an assembly of the people, where the orphans of those who had fallen in battle received a complete suit of armour; the others, a spear and shield. They then repaired to the temple of Agraulos, where they took

* Above, p. 261.

the oath of citizenship, almost the only duty imposed by which was, the defence of their country. This, the young citizen, as Peripolos, had an opportunity of fulfilling during his two years' service in the border fortresses of Attica.

The ceremony of public arming was accompanied with that of inscription in the register of the Lexiarchs (*Ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*). The youthful warrior was thus solemnly invested not only with the management of his own property (by which his interest in the security of the state was heightened), but with the right of appearing and of speaking in the assembly of the people, and consequently of taking a more active share in efforts to promote the common weal. Having thus obtained admission to the army in virtue of his civic privileges, the young citizen found, in his military leaders, fellow citizens of his own tribe (Phylarchs). The whole internal constitution of the army thus tended to give it the character of a body of free armed citizens.

Hence it is essential in explaining the constitution of the Athenian army, to treat of the several parts of which it was composed; the cavalry, which consisted exclusively of citizens, and that portion of the army consisting of non-citizens, which was distinguished by the common name *ξένοι*. This latter portion comprehended those who were inscribed in the list of the Hoplitæ, taken, as we are led to conclude, out of the class of the Isoteles; the archers, from the lowest class of resident aliens, and lastly, foreigners in the strict sense of the word; i. e., all non-Attic troops, whether allies or mercenaries.

Constituent parts of the army.

Term of service.

The regulations for the levy according to age applied to Athenian citizens alone. This levy was made by means of the lexiarchical registers, in which the age of each individual was denoted by the name of the proper archon eponymus, and thus security was afforded against the possibility either of too early, or of too long, service. The term of service of an Athenian citizen could not be extended beyond forty years, and the latter portion of this time was passed by the older soldiers in the border fortresses with the young men. These forty years were, however, preceded by the years of the ephebia (*τῶν ἐπιδιετὲς ἡβώντων*), from the termination of which, at the age of twenty, the liability to actual military service was reckoned. It, therefore, coincides in duration with that of Sparta*. This whole period is denoted by the name *στρατεῖαι ἐν ἐπωνύμοις, ἐν ἡλικίᾳ*†. In case a levy was occasionally wanted for special services, such as festal processions, reconnoitrings, &c., it was raised out of the same class as to age, but only for a specified period (*ἐκ διαδοχῆς*)‡. Generally speaking, the service of the elder soldiers was terminated by peace.

All offences of the soldiery were tried according to regular judicial forms, and were generally visited with atimy of the second class, which tended still further to blend the character of the citizen and the soldier in every Athenian.

* Above, p. 192.

† See Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alt., vol. ii. part i. p. 396.

‡ This levy was called *στρατεία ἐν τοῖς μέσοις*.

The mode of arming the troops, and their tactical evolutions, were the subject of much thought and inquiry in Athens; and Xenophon's writings contain numerous hints which have not been useless to the masters of the military art even in modern times. The selection of the horses (κωδωνίζειν) was made with great care. However, all accounts concur to prove that, before the Macedonian age, the mode of arming among almost all the Hellenes was nearly similar. Even before the battle of Marathon the Athenians were practised in the quick step used for the charge (ἐν δρόμῳ), and in attacking the enemy in close order (ἀθρόοι); but as, in later times, the fortune of the war was always finally decided at sea, the science of military tactics was never carried to its highest pitch of cultivation. The employment, too, of mercenaries, which became more and more common, occasioned many changes in the condition of the armies; and the multitude of grooms or horsekeepers (ἱπποκόμοι), of shield-bearers (σκευοφόροι), and of suttlers (ἀγοραῖοι), who followed them, tended greatly to impede their movements and to increase the difficulty of provisioning them. Art of war.

The highest in command was the Archon King, then the Archon Polemarch, and lastly, the ten Strategi, selected from the Phylæ, headed by a leader nominated by the people. In the cavalry and infantry (which was divided into τάξεις and λόχοι) the leaders were always chosen out of the Phylæ. Regular camps, generally square and walled, with leathern tents, were guarded from surprise by outposts. Metal standards served when raised aloft

as signals for attack; when lowered, for retreat. A sign (*σύμβολον*, or *σύνθημα*) answered the purpose of our watchword, to distinguish friend from foe. The call to battle was given by the trumpet; or, from a greater distance, by beacon-fires. It was the throwing away of the shield (*ῥίπτειν ἀσπίδα*)—the most important defensive weapon—and at the same time taking to flight, that was infamous; not the hurling it into the midst of the enemy with intent to seek it there again. Crowns, suits of armour, and pillars with inscriptions, were the rewards of the victor: solemn obsequies, with speeches pronounced by the public orators, testified the public reverence and gratitude to the fallen hero; as we find, not only from extant inscriptions, but also from the solemn panegyrical and funeral oration of Lysias, and the fragments of Hyperides.

Navy.

The power of Athens, however, as was soon perceived, rested upon her navy. It did not, indeed, rise so rapidly to importance as that of Ægina; nor, still less, as those of the Sicilian tyrants and the Coreyræans. Before the invention of the trireme (*τριήρης*) by the Corinthian ship-builder Aminocles, in the eighteenth Olympiad, ships of fifty oars (*πεντηκόντοροι*), in which the rowers sat in a line along the side, were the most considerable employed as ships of war. Fast sailing was the most important requisite in a fleet, and upon that was founded the high reputation of the Æginetan galleys.

Ships.

But we must distinguish between the two principal sorts of triremes;—the regular line of battle ships, which, built for the service, were easily and rapidly manœuvred, and were therefore

called ταχεῖαι (fast sailers), but had no crew except those necessary for the defence of the vessel; and the transports or soldiers' ships (στρατιώτιδες, ὁπλιταγωγοι), used only for the conveyance of troops (who were then called, like all other passengers, Epibatæ), and too unmanageable in fight to be employed as ships of war, except in cases of extreme necessity. The fortune of naval warfare rested with the fast-sailing triremes, which were manned with sailors (sometimes ναῦται, sometimes ὑπηρέται); and with Epibatæ, i. e., marines, a class of soldiers peculiarly trained, who fought with arrows and javelins, spears and swords.

Sailors.

In precise accounts of this subject, the rowers (ἐρέται, κωπηλάται) are distinguished from the other part of the crew, who worked at the helm, sails, cordage, pumps, &c. The rowers were further distinguished according to the bench on which they sat: those on the highest were called θρανῖται, on the middle, ζυγῖται or μεσόνεοι, on the lowest, θαλαμῖται. They were kept in time by the sound of a hammer or of a pipe. Böckh reckons a hundred and thirty or forty Epibatæ to a fast-sailing trireme containing two hundred men. His general estimate of the proportion of the naval soldiers, or marines, to the sailors, is as five to two. The entire crew of a ship was called πλήρωμα. The names Kybernetes (steersman), Proreus, Keleustes, Trierarches, &c., afford little insight into the relative ranks of these officers.

Naval tactics.

In naval actions, very important results were obtained by the manœuvres of sailing round (περιπλεῖν), and of sailing through (διεκ-

πλεῖν), by means of which one combatant got round the enemy, took the wind out of his sails, or broke his line. To avoid the latter, the Greeks tried to draw up their line in such a manner that there might be space enough between the several vessels to allow one line to advance or retreat through the other.

In single naval combat the Athenians showed great skill in bearing down upon the enemy obliquely and breaking his oars, so as to render him unmanageable. The ship was then boarded and sunk, after the crew had been put to the sword.

Chapter XVIII.

Peace—Festivities of the vintage—Domestic architecture—Dress of men—Dress of women—Condition of women—Matrons—Hetæræ—Marriage—Divorce—Female character—Athenian character—Education of boys—Oratory.

But let us turn our eyes from these sanguinary scenes to the days when peace or winter weather permitted the men of Athens to drag their ships of war on dry land, and to hang up their arms in their paternal halls, where they glittered through the wreathing smoke; when the Attic husbandman was permitted to go home; when the scythe-maker laughed the armourer to scorn; when the maker of helmet-plumes and crests tore his hair in despair; when the cities looked smilingly upon each other; when fresh plantations and luxuriant vineyards gave shelter to the young lambs sporting on the fresh turf of the fields.

And when the bounteous vintage, to which the women and maidens of the neighbourhood were invited, was ended, and the wine poured from the wine-press into the vats, then was the festival of the rural Dionysus celebrated with mirth and jollity. Then was the Lenæum opened; then the guests stretched themselves around the festal board at which the master presided, and sent about the pitchers of the last year's wine, and the goblets crowned with ivy. In the day-time the feast was spread in the open air,—for the beginning of December even is warm in Athens;—in the evening, by the kitchen hearth. Then were the sports more joyous; then the drinking cups lay thrown about; the kiss snatched from

the maiden was less reluctant, and the honoured matron brought a wine pitcher in the folds of her garment, to renovate the joys of the interrupted feast*.

Even in the age of Pericles, the Athenian Demus knew no greater happiness than to feast and carouse in peace: assuming always, that there was some sight for their idle hours; some gossip, or something, may be, to laugh at, in the Lesche.

Domestic architecture.

Grand and magnificent in their public monuments alone, the houses of the citizens of Athens were mean, even at the time of her greatest wealth; they were built of plaster or unburnt bricks, and some of them ornamented in antique fashion, like Phocion's house in Melite, with copper filings. The streets were narrow and angular (*στενωποί*); often darkened by the overhanging houses which projected into them. The whole aspect was that of remote antiquity. The Piræus alone was laid out in straight lines by the architect Hippodamus. The ancient style of building in broken irregular lines was used as affording protection against the wind.

In Xenophon's time the number of houses in Athens was ten thousand; partly inhabited by single families, partly let to under-tenants or lodgers. The most essential part of every house was a court, which, in the houses of the more opulent, was divided from the street by an outer wall. The commoner sort opened immediately into the streets by a door. The poorer citizens, when driven into the city by war, lived in the temples and sacred precincts; or a wine jar sufficed, in that happy climate, for shelter, as it did to Diogenes.

* See Voss on Aristoph. Peace, v. 530.

The dress of those Athenian matrons who boasted of their genuine citizenship, retained, down to the time at which the arts had reached their greatest beauty and splendour, more of its old Hellenic form than we might be disposed to expect from the versatile taste and temper of the Athenians. This is proved by the evidence of many works of art. Dress.

The men alone had been suffered to change the old costume which their Ionian ancestors are thought to have borrowed from the inhabitants of Asia Minor. An old-fashioned citizen who exhibited himself in the nicely folded garment made of white knotted linen with sleeves reaching to the knuckles, and the trimly curled hair falling in clusters like grapes, with the golden grasshopper stuck in it, was tasteless and ludicrous in the eyes of the contemporaries of Aristophanes*.

The simple garb of the Doric men had superseded the more elaborate dress; and in stately public processions, the elders appeared clad in the white Himation, the young in the saffron-coloured Chlamys.

But it was otherwise with the women. Even in the most advanced period of art—the period which produced the frieze of the Parthenon and those Canephoræ which, till Lord Elgin removed them, adorned the Pandroseum †,—the Athenian matrons were still seen in the full and flowing chiton reaching to the ancles (χιτὼν ὀρθοστάδιος), which was made either of linen, of woollen, Dress of the women.

* Οὐ ἱκτῖνος ὀρᾶν τεττιγοφόρους, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρούς.—Knights, v. 1331.

† Olymp. 92.

or of byssus. It was tucked into the girdle (ζώνη), at both hips, to prevent its sweeping the ground, and hung in a large cluster of folds on each side (κόλπος). As we still see in the frieze of the Parthenon, sleeves belonged to this dress, according to the Ionic fashion: these are wanting in the virgins of the Pandroscum, but are found in a number of Attic monuments. Over the Chiton was thrown the Diploidion, or Hemidiploidion, a sort of short tunic fastened on each shoulder, and falling loosely under the arms as low as the girdle. It was generally saffron-coloured, like the Chlamys of the boys. According to the fashion of early times, there was another article of dress which was afterwards willingly laid aside;—two wings, as they were called (πτερύγια or ἀποπτύγματα), carefully folded in ends in the form of swallows' tails, falling like the corners of a shawl, as low as the calf of the leg. This ornament was derived from the ancient wardrobe of the temple of Pallas, and was therefore regarded with religious respect by the young girls; though in more modern times it was gradually shortened by clasping the zone lower. For high festivals another wide piece of cloth was fastened to each shoulder, and fell double to the knee or calf of the leg, where another broach connected it with the Chiton. The name of this garment, which is seen on the statues of the Muses and the Canephoræ above alluded to, was probably ἐπωμὶς δίπλη.

This Panathenaic full dress was completed by the head-dress, which consisted of three braids of hair falling behind each ear on the shoulders; a fillet or band round the forehead; at the back of the head an edifice of curls; and lastly, a thick braid of hair

falling loosely, and invariably powdered with the sacred barley flour.

How much more becoming was the simple Doric dress and the Laconian chiton! Yet at the public festivals, where it was necessary for the Athenian matrons and virgins to keep up the most marked distinction between themselves and the elegantly dressed Hetæræ, and the daughters of the Metœci, they did not venture to depart from that established Athenian costume which, from its very singularity, at once recalled their many hereditary privileges.

The female citizens of Athens (*ἀσταὶ ἐγγυηταί*)*, were reared in such rigid restraints of traditional usage, that their resigned submission to these antiquated forms is matter of no surprise. They grew up, guarded by bolts and bars, in a seclusion almost equal to that of an eastern harem. The house door (*θύρα αὔλειος*) was the threshold of the forbidden world to an honourable matron; and, to the maidens, it was fastened by a lock or seal which was loosened with the greatest solemnity on days of high festival, when they walked in procession with decorous step and downcast eyes. In this retreat they were kept, that they might not see, or hear, or ask, things unbecoming for them to know. Their youth was passed in the occupations of spinning and weaving, the management of the female slaves, and the baking of bread. Condition of women.

Nor did these privations of their early years receive the smallest compensation in after-life from the pleasures of freedom and of social intercourse. The early

* See some interesting details on female life at Athens in Xen. Œconom. cap. 7, et seq.—*Transl.*

marriage into which they were often forced, was generally dictated by family considerations or pecuniary interests*; frequently, as in the case of heiresses, by legal obligation. In a connexion in which speaking in company was esteemed a sort of indecorum; in which, to be absolutely unobserved was, according to Thucydides†, the highest of all merits; and unconditional submission to the will or the caprice of their husbands, the first duty of woman, the decent virtues of a housewife must necessarily have been the only ones which could be regarded with respect. Where, under such circumstances, any one of those talents that cheer and embellish existence, unfolded itself, it must have been the irrepressible offspring of nature, not the foster-child of education. We should therefore seek in vain among the matrons of Athens for poetesses and women celebrated for intellectual endowments, like the female disciples of Pythagoras. The same remark, indeed, applies generally to the states of Ionic extraction, so long as the ancient domestic constitution of society subsisted. The Athenian women seem to have wanted even the first elements of intellectual culture, reading and writing. Yet in spite of all the restraints, internal and external, to which they were subject, they possessed the same exclusive and absolute power over the early training of the stronger and rougher sex which, in Sparta, was delegated to Laconian mothers.

If it be asked what were the advantages enjoyed by Athenian women as a compensation for such oppressive restraints, we can find no other than the

* See a remarkable instance of this in the Orations of Demosthenes against Aphobus.—*Transl.* † II. 45.

inviolate respect paid to the personal dignity, the civil rights, and the religious festivals of women.

Hetæræ.

For though all the talents which adorn society and all the charms of a cultivated mind were left to the Hetæræ (that was the name which Solon gave to the courtesans), the judgment of the Athenians never went so far astray as to estimate these attractions above the virtues of decorous and honourable women. Solon, like some modern legislators, probably regarded prostitution as a necessary evil, and, with culpable indulgence for the frailty of men, he first built a temple to Aphrodite Pandemos. But the outlet he thus afforded to the fiery passions of Athenian youth served but to strengthen their reverence for the virtuous mistress of the household. All the merits, all the attractive qualities by which these Hetæræ (often, as numerous witnesses attest, amiable and accomplished women) acquired celebrity, and enchained their lovers and their friends, were won by the loss of public respect and of civil rights, which were granted exclusively to Athenian matrons of spotless reputation. They alone were called by the law of Athens to bear Athenian citizens; and this privilege—the aim of marriage regarded as a physical union—was secured to them by various formalities.

In order to be qualified for this their highest vocation, the Athenian girls were obliged to attend the Arcteia at the festival of the Brauronian goddess between their fifth and tenth year.

Marriage.

As soon as they had attained to maturity, that is, about their fourteenth year, they were competent to contract marriage, to the legality

of which the betrothing of the maiden by her father or guardian, or, in default of them, by Epidikasia, was indispensable. If this ceremony of betrothing (ἐγγύησις) was omitted, all the children of the marriage were illegitimate, and the marriage itself void.

The Epidikasia was in use only in case of heiresses. They were treated as a sort of heritage which devolved of right upon the nearest of kin; and, without the slightest reference to their wishes, were awarded to the suitor who could establish his legal claims, by the Archon Eponymus, or, if they were wards, by the Polemarch.

The honourable title of a female citizen by blood (ἀστὴ ἐγγυητὴ) did not, however, rest on the formalities of betrothing alone, but also on the marriage ceremonies connected with them; and especially the dowry, προίξ—money, clothes, and jewels, and sometimes, but rarely, land. Neither concubines (πάλλακες), nor courtesans (ἑταῖραι), had any claim to these; nor could even aliens, unless the privilege of intermarrying with a citizen had been granted to them as a favour, contract a marriage, the children of which were admissible into the Phratriæ. To give birth to such children—the true children of Athens—was the grand privilege of Athenian matrons, and we frankly confess, their peculiar, we may almost say, prescribed vocation. Not only does the formula used on surrendering a daughter into the hands of her betrothed husband* express this with a directness rather at variance with modern notions of delicacy, but all the usages which preceded the nuptials evidently pointed to the same end: as, for

* Παίδων σπόρῳ τῶν γνησίων δίδωμί σοι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ θυγατέρα.

example, the Proteleia, a sacrifice offered by the betrothed maiden on the day before the wedding, to all the deities who presided over marriage, at which she dedicated to Artemis (Λυσίζωνος), a lock of hair and her mirror, as propitiatory offerings; the bridal bath, the symbolical anointment, the poppy-cakes, &c., which are explained in the extant epithalamic songs: not to mention the mystic consecrations which boys and girls, who personated Dionysus and Ariadne, received in the Bacchic mysteries.

Where marriage was regarded in so merely physical a light, the husband could find no difficulty in repudiating his wife on the slightest pretext, even without having recourse to courts of justice. If both parties were agreed, nothing was required for their divorce but a written certificate of this agreement, delivered in to the Archon. Whether this was equally easy in case there were children is not expressly told. It was only when there was a dowry, the restitution of which would be demanded by the parents or guardians of the wife, that the husband was compelled to state reasons for the divorce; but it is not distinctly said whether, on alleging just cause of complaint, he was freed from the obligation to return the dowry. Divorce.

Where custom and law combined to place all the nobler qualities of woman in such absolute subjection to the physical strength of man, it is not surprising that Aristotle should complain of her nature as corrupt and depraved; nor that, in the states of Ionian descent, and especially in Athens, we discover many traces of the character which is now ascribed to the women of the East;— Female character.

quarrelsomeness, love of finery, petty vanity, and very commonly, infidelity.

The punishment of the latter was, for the adulterer, death; either by the hand of the injured party on detection, or, in case of subsequent discovery, by sentence of law. For the woman, who could not be put to death, it was, the loss of all civil rights, and more particularly of access to all temples or sacred places; together with instant repudiation. Aristophanes' comedies exhibit a caricature of the faults above mentioned; but even allowing for the exaggerations of comedy, they give such pictures of effrontery, domestic tyranny, and licentiousness, that it is easy to understand why the legislators of the old world appointed certain officers specially to exercise supervision over the morals of women, and why at Athens they were forbidden to enter the theatre. This latter point has indeed been contested: but it seems now generally agreed that women were never present at the representation of comedies, and scarcely ever at that of tragedies; though an anecdote concerning the effect produced by the Eumenides of Æschylus seems to give countenance to the belief that this was occasionally permitted*.

But in considering these institutions, which were

* This anecdote (preserved in a passage inserted in the Life of Æschylus by an unknown grammarian) is that, according to some, when the Eumenides was represented, the terror produced by the Furies of the chorus appearing in disorder (στοῤῥάδην) on the stage was so great, that young children expired, and women were seized with premature pains of labour. Whatever foundation there may be for the statement as to the arrangement of the chorus, the account of its effect seems worthy of little credit. See Hermann, De Choro Eumenidum Æschyli Dissert. i. Opuscula, vol. ii. p. 123—138.—*Transl.*

designed to maintain public morals, we must always have reference to those ages in which the old constitution was still held in honour. Hetæræ.

From the time that Pericles set an example of disregard of the antient severity, immorality gained ground. Yet it would be difficult to find any authentic sources to show that it ever reached the height it has attained in our great cities, where married women invade the province, and share the gains of courtesans. If a woman in Athens fell into the class of Hetæræ and sold her person, she lost her civic rights; and this had some effect in preserving public morals. In Alcibiades' days when the familiarity with Asiatic manners had some influence, complaints of the oppressive yoke of marriage became more frequent, and the seductions of the accomplished Hetæræ more remarkable and successful; especially since poets and philosophers contributed to the cultivation of their minds; the grace of which gave to their attachments—sometimes unaffectedly constant—a charm that exalted a connexion, originally formed for momentary enjoyment, into a true and noble friendship. The names of Aspasia, of Lais of Corinth, Phryne of Thespiæ, Myrina of Samos, of Pythionice, all of whom exercised considerable influence on the character and the destiny of Athens, will for ever occupy a place in history; nor can the domestic history of Athens, and the existence of her citizens, ever be properly understood by any one who thinks these women—the companions of the men in all their hours of pleasure and revelry, and, at length, the models upon which the matrons fashioned themselves—unworthy of his attention.

Athenian character.

When we consider the encouragement given to habits of voluptuous effeminacy by such brilliant examples, and the apology they found in the influence of the climate, we are astonished at the vigour and manliness of individual examples, and at the pure sublimity of those works of art which prove true elevation to the region of the Great and the Beautiful, far more conclusively than a cloud of witnesses. Here we have ocular and undeniable proof of the influences of an all-pervading, all-enlarging public life, in which the knowledge of one became the property of all; and of the boundless advantages of an education which developed the physical, no less than the moral powers of man.

Education of boys.

The boys of Athens were generally taken from the Gymnæeum in their seventh year. They were then committed to the care of two masters, the one for bodily, the other for mental, exercises. Reading and writing, and reciting by heart passages of the greatest poets, from Homer downwards, were the exercises by which the latter—the grammatist—aroused the intellectual faculties of his pupil.

Gymnastics embraced, as parts of liberal education (τροφὴ ἐλευθέριος), hunting and riding. After the instructions of the grammatist, music followed; not the mere arts of playing and singing, but the cultivation of the moral sentiments by means of harmony and measure. This was even prescribed in the laws of Solon; though Aristotle affirms, that the love for music was not widely diffused till after the Persian war. Prizes were given to the boys who excelled in singing the lyric poems of Solon at festivals; for

singing and playing on the lyre were esteemed accomplishments neeessary to a highly edueated man. Arithmetie and geometry were taught to all; and at a later period, drawing and painting were eomprehended within the cirele of a liberal edueation. These braneheș of instruction taken together formed the ἐγκύκλια παιδεύματα.

But in a free state like Athens, the talent of public speaking neeessarily aequired an import- Oratory.
anee whieh no other eould possess. This sprang into existenee at the moment when Athens, flushed with her reeent vietory over the barbarians, beeame, as it were, the Greeee of Greeee (Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς). In this moment of triumph, the antique simplieity and reserve gave way to the desire to shine, to the eagerness for posts of honour, the impatience to obtain distinetion in the assembly of the people, the struggle for victory in the eourts of justiee: these laid the foundation of the influenee which a polished and vigorous expression is eertain to exereise, even over the rudest spirits. It was, moreover, just at this period that the insuffieieney of the philosophieal doetrines of the Ionie and Pythagorean sehools began to be generally reeognised; that the great questions eoneerning the ultimate grounds and reality of our pereeptions were agitated anew; that efforts were made to elear up the distinetion between pereeptions by the senses, and truths apprehended by the reason: and thus arose a dialeetic which was by no means eonfined to the sehools, but was applied to the daily business of life.

The first remarkable beginnings of this popular eloquence are, by the eommon consent of all authorities,

ascribed to Pericles; but the full power of oratory as reduced to an art was first wielded by Gorgias of Leontium *; and the language which had been moulded and adorned by epic and lyric poets and by sages was suddenly fashioned to grammatical acuteness, and to the subtlest expression of ideas, conveyed to the ear with all the pomp of sound. Not only what was said, but the manner of saying it, became the subject of scientific culture. It is not astonishing that a verbal blunder made by the actor Hegelochus, in a line of Euripides, furnished matter of jesting for years, to a public trained to such an exquisite delicacy of organ †. But this afforded to the sophists the means of introducing their system, which entirely altered the mode of transacting public business, and the training deemed essential to the citizens and legislators of a free state. The Athenian youth, captivated by the charms of an ornate style of oratory, which brought down every thing to the level of common-places tricked out by a vivid and excitable imagination, audaciously disregarded the sages who had heretofore been their teachers and patterns. This drew upon the sophists a numerous body of formidable opponents (among whom Socrates may be named as the foremost) from the ranks of the

* Olymp. 88, 1.

† In a verse of the Orestes, Ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὔθις αὖ γαλήν' ὁρῶ (v. 273), Hegelochus, who acted the part of Orestes, pronounced the two last words γαλῆν ὁρῶ, by which the sense was changed from "I see a calm," into "I see a cat." This slight error of pronunciation furnished (as Porson remarks) a fertile subject of ridicule to the comic poets. Compare Schaefer, Apparatus ad Demosthenem, vol. ii. p. 88.—*Transl.*

faithful venerators of the antique wisdom. Hence Isocrates, who restricted rhetoric to the business and concerns of state, to the exclusion of dialectical and physical questions, was esteemed its true founder; and the art of oratory, thus brought back to its genuine, natural, and useful province, acquired an advantageous sphere of influence, just at the time when the ties of morality began to relax.

In the direction previously taken by rhetoric, philosophical investigation was so interwoven with that study, that metaphysical and ethical questions (at that time more frequently interminable subtleties than quickening principles) inevitably occupied a portion of the attention. This passion for the investigation of problems concerning the essential properties of man was at the same time the living source of new philosophical systems, which again stimulated the more noble qualities of human nature; and, even when they represented pleasure as the highest good, imposed some check on debasing sensuality, by subjecting mere enjoyment to certain principles which prevented the susceptibility to good from being utterly quenched.

And as the petulant audacity of the Attic glance (Ἀττικὸν βλέπος) was tempered by the consciousness of wit and of the highest cultivation, so even the faults and vices of the Athenians were covered beneath the graceful, though often indeed transparent, folds of the veil of the Charis.

Chapter XIX.

Primitive agrarian religion of Attica—Athenè—Hephæstus—Hermes—Poseidon—Deities presiding over arms and cities—Sacerdotal families—Orgeonic sacrifices—Priesthood—Zeus—Panathenæa—Thesmophoria—Eleusinia—Sacerdotal office—Offences against religion Moral effects of the mysteries—Connexion between religious and social institutions—Dates of the festivals—Rural Dionysia—Lenæa.

Until the close of the Persian war, the primitive institutions and manners of Athens subsisted in a nearly unaltered state. During this period of her history, the morality of the people was upheld by certain rules derived from the early agrarian religion of the Pelasgians. The holy reverence for natural manners which that religion inculcated was the most beneficial part of its brilliant mythical system.

Athenè, the patron goddess of the citadel, where her temple and her image had stood from the remotest ages, is the divinity to whom the series of the earliest legends is attached. Connected with her in dim and awful traditions, the high antiquity of which is always perceptible, are Hephæstus and Hermes, and Poseidon, who was worshipped by the Eteobutadæ under the name of Erechtheus. The acute inquirer will discover, through the mist of fable, allusions to those operations and blessings of nature to which the national existence of the old Pelasgians was intimately attached.

The deities who presided over agriculture were the daughters of Cecrops, who are called the earliest priestesses of Pallas; Agraulos, Pandrosos, and Hersé—names which nearly coincide in meaning with the Attic Hours, Thallo and Carpo. They nourish the earth-born Erichthonius,—the corn springing from the ground when the seed has rotted, the offspring of the warmth of earth and the mildness of ether: and thus arose the legend, afterwards disfigured, of the embraces (ἱερὸς γάμος) of Hephæstus and Pallas. It is to be observed, that the nature of these Agraulian virgins entirely agrees with that of the primitive Pallas, who is herself described as Pandrosos, as Agraulos, and as Budeia; and again, that the conception of her differs little from that of Demeter, who, in common with Pallas, is the bearer of the Gorgon's head. The idea which the Eleusinians formed of Demeter, Hades, and Persephone, as patrons of husbandry, was the same as that entertained by the Athenians, of Pallas, Hephæstus, and Erichthonius. The former bestowed the temperate warmth of the air and the fertilizing moonlight; hence the Athenians celebrated their rites, like those of other light-giving deities, with torch-festivals; and hence, on the coins anterior to the time of Pericles, we find a moon together with the owl and the diōta.

Agrarian deities. Athenè.

Agriculture itself was invested with a religious character. Whatever was regarded as a necessary condition to its prosperity, we find veiled under the names used to denote the goddess of the citadel. We observe too that Erechtheus has a place in her temple; and her contest with Poseidon,

which admits of local interpretations, attests the varied aspects and relations with which the profound and contemplative spirit of the Pelasgians delighted to invest their revered patroness.

Deities presiding over arms and cities.

More recent in date, and essentially different in their whole colouring, are the legends connected with the names of Xuthus, Ion, Ægeus, and Theseus. The tendency of these is to celebrate warlike exploits and civil institutions. They are connected with the worship of Apollo, and with that of Poseidon, in whose honour the kindred Ionic tribes had instituted Poseidonia and Panionia.

The temples sacred to this mythical group, the Pythium, Delphinium, and Olympieum, were situated in the lower town; the elder Pallas had possession of the citadel. It is, however, difficult accurately to discern from the accounts of poets and rhetoricians, who delighted to obtain for the more recent legends the veneration naturally inspired by remote antiquity, what belonged to the Erechthidian, and what to the Ionic mythology; and the contradiction opposed to some accounts and attempts at explanation need therefore excite no surprise.

Sacerdotal families.

The religious rites of the agrarian gods to which we have alluded above, had been committed by the Athenians to the family of the Eteobutadæ. The two opinions on the relations of such sacerdotal races have not been entirely conciliated. It is not clear whether they originally subsisted as a caste, severed from all others; or whether the priestly dignity was originally blended with that of patriarch and prince in such a manner, that every tribe which

had a chief had necessarily a priest, and the delegating the sacerdotal office exclusively to certain clans or families was an institution of later times. The latter opinion is now the most generally received.

Only one family is known to have existed in Attica in the form of a caste dedicated to the priesthood—the Eumolpidæ, hereditary priests of Eleusis, of Thracian extraction. All other clans had among them some individual who devoted himself to the priesthood; but his kinsmen followed their own avocations, except on solemn occasions, when they were summoned to take part in the religious processions.

The sacrifices called *orgeonic** were provided by a clan, a phratria, or any other body or company, in contradistinction from the state sacrifices. If a clan which offered sacrifices is to be described as a sacerdotal one, we must include under that denomination not only the Butadæ, but the Ceryces (κήρυκες), who enjoyed peculiar privileges at the mysteries of Eleusis; and the Eleusinian family of the Hipponici, who carried the torches at the mysteries; an honour which, after the extinction of that family, devolved on the Lycomidæ. The names of these clans indicate occupations which were of importance in the heroic ages; but there was only one Hieroceryx in the clan of the Ceryces. Orgeonic sacrifices.

With the lapse of time, those among the orgeonic or gentile sacrifices which were the objects of peculiar resort, gradually grew into public ones; but the direction of the ceremony remained with the race which

* From ὀργεῶνες, those who combined to offer sacrifices, whether they were of the same kindred or not.

had first learned to propitiate the gods by it, after it had been transferred to the temples of the state. In this way the sacrifices to Athenè Polias and Erechtheus were in the hands of the Eteobutadæ. This family originally belonged to the phyle of the Geleontes, but by their residence in the city among the Eupatridæ, they acquired a consideration not inferior to that enjoyed by the Alemæonidæ, the Codridæ, &c. Nevertheless, the phratria of the Butadæ included several plebeian families, which affords the best confutation of their supposed Eupatrid rank.

Priesthood.

The priesthood was determined among the Butadæ by lot; but the person thus chosen was at liberty to exchange with another member of the same clan. The office of torch-bearer and of sacred herald at the clan-sacrifices descended from father to son. An unmarried or widowed matron of the clan of the Eteobutadæ, who lived in the temple and received maintenance and gifts of honour (γέρα) from the state, officiated as priestess of Athenè Polias; a man of the same tribe, as priest of Erechtheus (Poseidon).

The festivals which were dignified by the presence of this priestess, remarkable for the stateliness of her dress,—the Ersephoria and the Scirophoria—afford still further indications of that primitive and mystical character which we have already spoken of as distinguishing the ancient agrarian worship. Four girls, under eleven years of age, were shut up for a whole year with the priestess in the Acropolis, and employed in weaving the Panathenaic peplus. In the former of these festivals, two of them carried the gifts (ἔρσαι) carefully concealed in a basket, to a cavern,

from which their successors in office, laden with new gifts, again ascended to the citadel. At the Seirophoria, the priests of Athenè Polias, Erechtheus, and Helios, went in procession from the temple in the Acropolis, escorted by the whole clan, to Seirus, a field near the city on the Eleusinian way; in which, according to tradition, the first seed was committed to the earth.

As other phylæ rose to importance, the characteristics of their occupations were respectively attributed to Athenè. She was Erganè to the artisans, Promachos to the warriors, Budeia to the herdsmen. But the higher importance for so many reasons attached to husbandry, gave to all the festivals which had any reference to that, a more sacred character.

Zeus, the protector of the labouring ox, was accordingly, at a subsequent period, included in the ancient festivals of thanksgiving. The Diipolia, or Buphonia, celebrated the second day after the Seirophoria, were sacred to him, and were also under the conduct of the Butadæ. Symbolical acts seem here to have been intended to recall the times when husbandry not only first united man to his fellow man, but gave security to the life of the patient beast which he made the companion of his toils. Thus, for example, the hatchet with which the sacrificial ox had been felled was thrown into the sea, according to the direction of the Prytanes, and the Butypus who slew him was obliged to flee. It is not clear when this sacrifice was celebrated. Even on the altar of the guardian Zeus in the citadel, no living thing was offered, and no wine poured out.

Zeus.

But as rites of family worship lay at the foundation of these usages, they were, though not absolutely mystical, yet less obvious to the eyes of the many than the national rites. Our information even concerning the Butadæ is not very copious.

Panathenæa.

In the course of time the Panathenæa became the most splendid of all the Athenian festivals. They originally bore traditional reference to Erechtheus, but derived their real importance from the union of all the Attic tribes round a common centre, which was effected by Theseus. The annual Panathenæa must here be distinguished from the great pentaëteric Panathenæa. Even the lesser festivals directed by the athlothetæ were embellished by gymnic games, horsemanship, and by music. A wreath of the sacred olive-tree gathered in the Academy, and a pitcher of the sacred oil (τον Αθενεθεν αθλον εμι), was the prize of the victor. At these festivals also, a peplus, embroidered with the combat of the goddess with the giant Asterius, was carried in solemn procession to Athenè Polias, by the wives of the citizens.

All these ceremonies were, however, grander and more solemn at the great Panathenæa which occurred in the third year of every Olympiad, in Hecatombæon, the month which follows the summer solstice. Gymnic games, processions on horseback, sword dances, mimic representations of the battles of the Giants, and lastly, since the time of Pericles, contests between the citharœdi and rhapsodists in the Odeum built for the purpose, occupied the days devoted to sacrificial rites. This gave occasion to that solemn procession, of which the frieze of the Parthenon, brought

by Lord Elgin from Athens to London, conveys a much more distinct idea than any description can do. Youths on horseback, cars in which the statues of the Gods were drawn, Athenian matrons walking in pairs, two Canephoræ, the wives and daughters of the Metœci, carrying the canopics, seats and vessels after the matrons (*σκαφηφορεῖν*, *ὑδριαφορεῖν*, *σκιαδηφορεῖν*), Ephebi and Gymnasiarchs, and lastly, the decorated victims furnished by the allied cities, went from Ceramicus up to the temple of the goddess of the citadel, bearing the sacred peplus, which represented the battle with the giant and was woven in the temple itself. During a part of the procession, this peplus was fastened as a sail, to a ship drawn on rollers; it was then again taken off and put on the goddess who was laid on a bed of flowers. In the evening a torch-race was connected with the festival (*λαμπαδοῦχος ἀγών*, *λαμπαδοφορία*), and subsequent to the time of Socrates, it was performed on horseback. The art in this race was, to carry the wax torches so that when running at full speed they should not be blown out. On these occasions the race-ground was always lighted up.

As Theseus strove to hallow the political union of all the demi by means of the Panathenæa, so each individual festival was intended to combine all the peculiar characters under which the Athenians adored the patroness of their city; thence the peplus, the warlike games and the torch-race. But the Thesmophoria and Eleusinia, Cerealian festivals celebrated at Athens at the charge of the state, preserved a purely agrarian character. Of neither, however, is there a satisfactory account in any trustworthy author.

Thesmophoria.

Of a still earlier date were the Thesmophoria, which, after the establishment of peace between Athens and Eleusis, were also placed under the direction of the Eumolpidæ. According to all existing evidence, they were celebrated in the month Pyanepsion, which corresponds to our October. But the accounts of their duration are so vague, that opinions differ as to whether they lasted three or five days. According to recent researches, it appears that the three days of the festival were preceded by a day of preparation (ἄνοδος, the 11th of Pyanepsion), on which the tables of the laws were brought to Eleusis, where the women who celebrated the festival alone (the Thesmophoriazusæ) remained for three days, excluding the female slaves. On the 15th of Pyanepsion they returned to Athens (κάθοδος): the 16th was a day of fasting; the 17th was the day designated as Kalligeneia, on which sacrifices were made to Demeter, to Kora, to Pluto, to Kalligeneia, a mystic nurse or companion of Demeter, and to the nourishing earth. In Athens the women celebrated the festival in the Thesmophorium, a building consecrated to the purpose, under the direction of ἀρήτειραι, or women selected two from each tribe. It was necessary that they should be of legitimate birth and lawfully married; but to certain ceremonies in the temple virgins only were admitted. From the imperfect accounts of the ceremonies, which appear to have had reference to the institution of civil laws, the purposes of marriage, and the seed sown in autumn (ἄροτος), we can only know that strict continence (ἁγνεύειν) was the preparation; that during the festival the women sat on

herbs which tend to allay the passion of love, and that the intervals of the ceremonies were enlivened by jokes, games, and dances which were often not very decorous. On the fast-day the initiated women followed the car containing the sacred basket, barefoot; by the side went virgins carrying vessels, and thus they walked in procession between the Thesmophorium and the Prytaneum. During a festival of such importance, the expenses of which were defrayed as a liturgy, the courts were, as usual, closed, and an expiatory sacrifice at the end of the ceremonies (ζημία) appeased the goddess for any unintentional offences.

Eleusinia.

The Eleusinia appear to have been still more decidedly a state-festival; the Attic traditions, however, do not agree in their accounts of their origin. That a war had been waged between Athens and Eleusis, between Erechtheus and Eumolpus, was well known. The descendants of Thracian colonists at Eleusis formed a party, headed by Eumolpus, which laid hereditary claim to Athens. It is very probable that Triptolemus belonged to this party; for his grandson, the younger Eumolpus, a son of Ceryx, is supposed to be the founder of the mysteries; and the worship of Triptolemus, to whom the Athenians ascribed the first cultivation of corn, by the Eumolpidæ and Ceryces, who presided over the celebration of the Eleusinia, may be thus explained. The original festivals of thanksgiving after the harvest, which, on account of the sanctity of the goddesses, were respected even by the enemy, were gradually approximated to these in form. But, at a very early period, initiation to the mysteries appears to have been the exclusive pri-

vilege of the Greeks, and denied to all barbarians; especially since the Persians had committed great devastations by fire. In the Eleusinia, as well as in the Panathenæa, we must distinguish the greater and the lesser. As to the time of their celebration, opinions differ. The lesser were celebrated annually in Anthesterion (the Greek beginning of spring, corresponding to February); the greater also annually, in Boëdromion (about September); and it seems probable that an observance of the seasons of the year was connected with it. The lesser festival was celebrated at Agræ, a demus on the Ilyssus, at the distance of three stadia from Athens (thence τὰ ἐν Ἄγραις); this too was preceded by fasting. Purification by water prepared the novice, who stood upon the skins of animals and swore the oath of secrecy to the mystagogue; whereupon the formula of recognition was taught him: "I have drunk the mixed draught, I have taken the goblet out of the chest, and according to the rite laid it on the basket, and then taken it out and laid it back into the chest." These lesser mysteries were only preliminary (προκάθαρσις, προάγνευσις); the persons initiated in them were called Mystæ (μύσται.)

Whether, however, one of the Mystæ could become an Epopt (i. e. one of the initiated into the greater Eleusinian mysteries), after the lapse of one year, or whether a longer time of probation was necessary, is a question concerning which opinions are nearly equally divided. The greater ceremonies were held in such veneration, that the name μυστήρια or τελεταί was generally applied expressly to them; and Athenians, however widely dispersed, seem to

have congregated at their celebration. The beginning of the solemnity, according to the most accurate calculation, fell on the 15th of Boëdromion. A day of preliminary ceremonies (ἀγυρμός), at which the Mystæ (the initiated in the lesser rites) assembled in the Eleusinium at Athens, was reckoned as the first day. At this meeting none but the πρῶτοι could be present. The second day was occupied in a procession to the sea for the purification of the initiated; hence the name of the day, ἅλαδε μύσται. The third seems to have been a day of fasting, closed in the evening with the mixed draught and the poppy cakes, after which, as Creuzer thinks, came the ceremony of covering the bridal couch of Persephone with purple. Concerning the following day, we are in total uncertainty; perhaps a sacrifice to Demeter and Kora, and the dance at the fountain Kallichorus. The fifth day was called, from a procession with torches, in which the initiated walked two and two in silence to the temple, λαμπάδων ἡμέρα, the day of torches. The Daduchus led the way, bearing a torch. The scene of all these solemnities was Athens.

It was not until the sixth day, which took its name from Iacchus, the nurseling of Ceres, that they were transferred to Eleusis. In festal pomp, crowned with myrtle wreaths, and frequently calling aloud upon Iacchus (ἰακχάζειν), the initiated marched along the magnificent road from the outer Ceramicus, the point at which so many sacred processions began or ended; passing through the sacred gate on the ἱερὰ ὁδός, which was decorated with numerous monuments, and the pavement of which may still be discerned, they reached the magnificent temple of

Eleusis, converted by Ictinus, the architect of the Propylæa, under the direction of Pericles, into the vastest and most remarkable sanctuary of Greece.

The last solemnity, the Epopteia, probably took place the same night. The Hierocceryx called aloud to the profane to depart; the torches were instantly extinguished, and the examinations began. They took place in the propylæa, the remains of which still attest the inaccessible character of the building. Then followed darkening, sudden light, thunder, alternations of sweet and fearful sounds, and lastly, the introduction to the light (φωταγωγία), in the midst of which the statue of the goddess appeared, and in which a view (αὐτοψία) of the perfect beatitude resulting from a union with the Gods was granted to the initiated*.

On the following day, the seventh, it seems that the initiated returned home, halting at certain appointed stations. The most remarkable ceremony, after the repose under the fig-tree, was that of the sports at the bridge over the Cephissus (the γεφυρισμός). The most unbridled licence of language was not only permitted, but rewarded with a fillet. This custom is thought to have been in commemoration of the female slave Iambe, or Baubo, who comforted the mourning Demeter.

* Since the time of Meursius the opinion has prevailed that, at the close of these ceremonies, the initiated were solemnly dismissed by the Hierocceryx with the strange words, Κόγξ ὄμπαξ, the derivation of which was sought by some in Persian, by others in Sanscrit, till at length Lobeck showed that the passage in Hesychius, the source of this discovery, had no relation to the mysteries. See Lobeck's Aglaophamus, p. 775—81, and Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. vii. p. 52.

The eighth day, Epidauria, perhaps an addition made in the times when sacred festivals were arbitrarily extended or altered, was a sort of supplementary initiation for the sake of those who came too late. The ninth, Plemochoë, so called after a vase out of which libations were poured, as closing ceremony of the festival, was perhaps kept with gymnic games, at the period when they were made to form part of every solemnity; although some suppose these games to have taken place on the seventh day.

The latest researches of travellers into the local peculiarities of Eleusis prove how skilfully the nature of the ground was turned to the account of these scenic ceremonies. There are old proverbs extant which afford evidence of the cheerful impression they made on those admitted to them*. The universally diffused opinion of the advantages which the initiated would enjoy in another life—for example, they were to sit on the seats of honour (προεδρία), while others lay in the mud (ἐν βορβόρῳ)—rendered the initiation a universal custom at Athens. It was probably the more popular among all ages and sexes, in consequence of its originally costing nothing. Subsequent to the time of Aristogiton some money was demanded, but it did not exceed the cost of the sacrifice of a sucking pig. A few philosophers (among whom was Socrates) alone ventured to contemn the mysteries. A peculiar diet, splendid dresses and ornaments which were worn till they were entirely unproducible, and were then used as votive offerings,—or as swaddling bands—formed parts of the ritual of the initiated, which the Eumolpidæ handed down

* Οἱ τὰς μυούμενος εὗρεται.

in unwritten laws, probably as traditions of their order.

Sacerdotal office.

The admission to the sacerdotal dignity seems to have been granted only on certain conditions. The Eumolpid hierophant (ἱεροφάντης, μυσταγωγὸς, προφήτης), the high priest of Attica, who was guardian of the last and profoundest secrets, and who held his office for life, could not be elected to his high station till he was of advanced age, and had irreproachably filled several sacerdotal offices. He was permitted to marry but once. The Daduchus, who, as well as the Hierophant, wore the diadem, was subject to the Dokimasia. All the other priests wore simply a myrtle wreath. The numerous servants of the temple were not permitted to enter the holy place, nor to go beyond the entrance of the sanctuary.

When Hadrian was initiated, the rites were performed by a Hierophantis, whose chief assistant was of the family of the Phyllidæ. Indeed it is not improbable that, from the time the dates of the festivals were altered, in compliance with the wishes of Demetrius, various deviations from the original forms may have been introduced.

Offences against Religion.

Desecration of the mysteries was punished with death and confiscation. Betrayal of the secrets, celebration of the mysteries in places not dedicated to the purpose, or admission of strangers, were reckoned as desecration, and gave occasion to an Eisangelia, which was decided by the Areopagus, or by the assembly of the people, according to the aspect under which the offence was viewed. In individual cases connected

with religion, the Eumolpidæ, and probably together with them, the Ceryces, had the Hegemony; but we may assume that they inflicted only ecclesiastical punishments (if we may use the expression), and indeed had not the power of inflicting civil ones.

Moral effects of the mysteries.

Whether these mysteries exercised the salutary influence on morals which many authors, ancient and modern, have ascribed to them, is a question which the calmer investigations of recent times would incline us to answer in the negative. The doctrines which could be thus conveyed were despised by the high-minded philosophers who laboured to render similar truths the property of the world, and to free science from the obstacles opposed to its diffusion; they held that these gaudy and dearly bought symbols and ceremonies were rather a source of amusement than a support to morality, and that they were to be rejected altogether. When therefore the Emperor Theodosius forbade the celebration of the Eleusinia, in the year 381 A. D., the form, as in other instances we have noted, had already lost its spirit. In 396, Alaric partly destroyed the deserted temple.

Connexion between religious and social institutions.

If Solon's sacred ordinances (*κύρβεις*), which directed the sacrifices and festivals, had been preserved, or even if we were better acquainted with the periods appointed by ancient laws and oracles for the celebration of the festivals at the expense of the state (the *δημοτελῆ ἱερά* and the *δημοτελεῖς ἑορταί*), we should be able better to understand many circumstances concerning the original development of the state, and its agrarian religion. Even the internal con

nexion which existed between the rights of citizenship and the worship of Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patrios; between the right to contract marriage and the Arkteia; between the Ephebia and the festival of Aglauros, &c., would become more clear to us than it has as yet been made by the acute researches of modern writers on mythology. Want of space prevents us from going into a more minute examination of these festal periods and their mythical groundwork, or their relation to the mode of life in Attica.

Dates of the festivals.

Geminus asserts that the Greeks were enjoined to celebrate the same festivals at the same periods of the moon's age, and the same seasons of the year. In order not to mistake a festival day, they especially observed the day on which the new moon was first visible in the evening twilight, and this day was the beginning of a month —*νουμηνία*. But most festivals, as, for example, the Eleusinia and Thesmophoria, began when the moon was at full, *διχομηνία*. The seasons were regulated by the appearance of the most brilliant of the fixed stars, which marked the agrarian epochs and the times favourable to navigation. The year began with the entrance of the sun into Aries; the civil day, with the setting of the sun.

But the difficulties which the Athenians experienced in reconciling the differences in their months and years resulting from the various phases of the moon, with the periods of the sun's course, were hardly so great as those which modern critics have found in the attempt to distribute the festivals known to have existed in the 354 days of the lunar year and its

twelve months *, over the intercalary period which occurred every third year.

The Lenæan festival of Dionysus, the time for which seems to have been marked by nature, has, more especially, been the subject of much research.

A festival commonly distinguished as the rural Dionysia (Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς) was celebrated in Poseideon (about our December), in honour of the Eleutherian Bacchus, in the several villages, before Theseus concentrated the sacred buildings around the Prytaneum. It was the time of the vintage, which fell late in Attica, where it was the custom, as it is now in Hungary, to let the grapes hang very long. In Anthesterion, corresponding to our February, there was a second; on the first day of which (πιθοίγια), the vats were opened; on the second, new wine drunk (χόες); on the third (χύτροι), mystical symbolic rites celebrated in memory of the cultivation of the vine. This festival was called Anthesteria. Dionysia.

After the consolidation of the central city of Attica, these separate rural Dionysia were united into one great general festival, which was called the grand or city Dionysia (τὰ μεγάλα, τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τὰ κατ' ἄστυ), in contradistinction from the rural Dionysia above mentioned (Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς). Partly, however, from the variations in the Athenian calendar, partly because the month next to Poseideon was already occupied with Dionysian festivals, this was

* The names of these months are, Hecatombæon, Metageitnion, Boëdromion, Pyanepsion, Mæmacterion, Poseideon, Gamelion, Anthesterion, Elaphebolion, Munychion, Thargelion, Scirophorion.

transferred to Elaphebolion, which corresponds to our March.

Lenæa.

We ought to observe that between these above named feasts of Bacchus, falls another, attached to the spot where the first wine-press in Attica was constructed, south of the citadel Ceeropia, within the city, where a theatre was afterwards built. The place where stood the wine-press of the dwellers around the Ceeropia (Lenæum), was originally a hamlet lying without the city, but at a later period united to it. Some rather vague expressions of the ancients excited in the scholars of modern times the suspicion, that the festival celebrated there, the Lenæa, was the same as the rural Dionysia; others thought that it coincided with the Anthesteria, and formed but one with that; till Böckh, in his acute and learned analysis, showed that this feast of the wine-press (Lenæa) was a fourth and distinct festival, representing the cultivation of the vine, and the preparation of wine; and that it should be fixed on the 20th of Gamelion, our January. For at that season the grapes left on the vines, mellowed by frost, yielded the most spirited must, which was called ambrosia. These Lenæa, which, on account of the primitive, and as it seems universal, custom of mixing water with wine, were celebrated in the marshes at the foot of the Acropolis, unquestionably formed part of the most ancient festivals of the Attic state; and the Anthesteria, from their important relation to the cultivation of the vine, were united with the rural Dionysia, the feast of the vintage.

Other villages had had similar festivals, but the

preponderance of Cecropia, after it became the capital city, gave permanency to those alone which were connected with it, and some few others, like those in Brauron. The city Dionysia were, however, of a later date*.

* On Böckh's investigations respecting the Attic festivals of Dionysus, see the Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 273.—*Transl.*

Chapter XX.

Dionysiac festivals—Dithyrambic choruses—Origin and progress of tragedy—Pratinas—Phrynichus—Æschylus—Theatrical costume—Theatres—Tetralogy—Judges of the drama—Dramatic representations—Satyric drama—Origin of comedy—Its connexion with democracy—Aristophanes—Hilarotragedies—Freedom of the drama—Superstitious practices—Rites of Sepulture—Sacred vases.

The peculiar and invariable characteristic of all the Dionysiac festivals, mentioned at the close of the foregoing chapter, was, as will readily be imagined, the joyousness and mirth which are the fairest gifts of the god in whose honour they were held,—the dispenser of freedom, the deliverer from sorrow and care. Their celebration was marked by gaiety and pleasure, and even the fetters of slavery were loosed at the recurrence of the Anthesteria and the Dionysia. Banquets were given at the festival of the vintage, the viands for which were sent to the giver of the feast; and at the Diasia*, the echo, as it were, of these greater festivities, presents were given to the children. At the time when Eleutheræ, in her hatred against Thebes, sought alliance with Athens; in those semi-historical ages, before the invasion of the Heraclidæ, and after the immigration of the Bœotians from Arne,

* The Diasia were held on the 23d of the month Anthesterion, eleven days after the Choes.

the ancient statue of wood, which, at the annual festival of the greater Dionysia, was carried from the temple of the Eleutherian Dionysus to the chapel in the Academy, came, as legends relate, to Athens.

By these traditions, the period of the introduction of the greater Dionysia is made known to us. It was supposed that the image was unwillingly received, and that for this offence the god visited men with his displeasure.

These have been assumed as historical grounds for the public celebration of the phallic worship, which was connected with this festival.

Dithyrambic choruses.

Dithyrambs were first introduced at these rural feasts; they were originally the inspirations of the moment, and of the care-destroying, freedom-dispensing father (*Liber pater*, ἐλευθέριος), whose discovery and whose praises they sang. After them followed songs regularly learned and artistically performed by choruses. This soon led to a contest of these choral bands, in which an ox was the prize of the winner. The chorus (κύκλιος) danced in a circle around the altar of Bacchus, while another, which came and went at intervals, implored the blessing of the giver of fertility in ithyphallic songs. In order to render their songs more gay and attractive, the chorus-singers of the dithyrambs, perhaps from the whim of the moment, assumed the disguise of satyrs. From this circumstance we may date a new era for these songs; the most wanton jests and the wildest buffoonery were not only permitted and sanctioned, but almost recommended, by the disguise assumed; and even the applause bestowed on these additions to the dithyrambs restricted the latter to such a degree,

that they were gradually abbreviated, and sometimes wholly omitted, for the sake of the tragedy. Such was the name given to this addition; either from the disguise under which the satyrs concealed themselves (τραγῆ), or from the prize (a he-goat, τράγος) given to the victor. Every performer in this chorus of satyrs strove to surpass his associates in word or action, and did whatever occurred to him at the moment as most likely to obtain the prize.

Origin of tragedy.

Such was the origin of tragedy, the twofold object of which was, to sing dithyrambs, and to amuse the spectators with jests and raillery. It however retained its primitive and especial distinction from the ithyphallic chorus; that, namely, of moving in a circular dance around the altar of Dionysus. Subsequently, the goat was so often awarded to the skilful Thespis, that the contests of the individual performers in the chorus of satyrs ceased. Thespis, a native of Icaria, an Attic village in which the Eleutheria were celebrated with unusual pomp, and to which Attic tradition ascribed the invention of tragedy (though, as we have hinted, falsely), altered it only in so far as he introduced an interlocutor in the pauses of the chorus of satyrs, in order to afford the latter time to rest. Probably it was he who first gave the chorus another costume—as, for instance, that of Ajax or of the Centaurs—in order more distinctly to mark their connexion with the interlocutor, who at length, entirely discarding the character of a jester, devoted himself exclusively to grave and heroic subjects of mythical story: hence he was liable to the proverbial reproof, "That has nothing to do with Dionysus" (οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον).

Every step towards artistical perfection gave a fresh impulse to the successive attempts of the creators of the drama, to refine and exalt that love of amusement and of spectacle in which it had its source. Yet it is difficult to determine the several stages of the dramatic art with any precision. Progress of tragedy.

Pratinas seems to have been the first who entirely omitted the satyrs. Phrynichus exhibited the stories and the sufferings of old heroes (μῦθοι καὶ πάθη). Æschylus therefore found tragedy* in a sufficiently advanced stage to enable him to reduce the dance, which had hitherto constituted the principal part of the performance, within narrow limits; and to substitute dialogue for the monologues of the interlocutors, with which Phrynichus had filled the intervals of the dance. Æschylus gave to the chorus a closer reference to the two acting and speaking personages. This, however, involved the important change, that the action and the fable, and not the choral song, became the essential part of the tragedy. By him, too, the number of the tragic chorus † was fixed at twelve. Sophocles, or some immediate predecessor of his, increased it to fifteen. Æschylus.

In the third year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad a third actor was introduced. This change had been

* Notwithstanding the assertions of Horace, it does not appear that, even in the time of Thespis, tragedies could have been performed in carts; the stages were probably platforms or hustings of boards (ἐπ' ἰκρίοις).

† Called by the Greeks τετράγωνος, to distinguish it from the dithyrambic chorus, which moved in a circle (κύκλιος), and consisted of fifty persons.

prepared by the machinery of Æschylus; such as his introduction of the vision of Prometheus chained to the rock. With what solemn terrors the genius of that great dramatist invested these actors—as, for example, when the Eumenides, from whom the poet had as yet taken nothing of the horrible character and aspect of vampires gorged with human blood, rushed upon the stage*—we learn from tradition and from his own words.

Theatrical costume.

Garments reaching to the ankles, broad girdles, shoes with high cork soles, buskins borrowed from the dress of the Cretan huntsman, for the part of the hero; after Olymp. 80, 2. burning torches; masks inclosing the whole head, before and behind; or, occasionally, to produce a still more horrible appearance, the face painted,—were among the mechanical tricks resorted to even in the age of Æschylus, to excite the feelings of the audience through the senses; while the sudden appearance of the Furies, the disappearance of the ghosts, and even the ruin of Caucasus, were represented by mechanical contrivances. Machinery so complicated could only exist in a stationary and solid theatre: such a one had begun to be built in Athens in consequence of the seats of the spectators having given way during the representation of plays of Æschylus and of Pratinas†.

Theatres.

More exact inspection of the ruins of the ancient theatres has tended to correct many of the former impressions with respect to

* See above, p. 316. note.

† Olymp. 70, 1.

them. Yet much remains obscure. That we must distinguish three main divisions—the theatre, properly so called (the raised, or graduated, benches); the scene, in the strictest sense of the word (the wall behind the stage); and, lastly, the orchestra (the space enclosed by the semicircle of graduated seats) is ascertained. But the purpose of the logeion (λογεῖον), which the Romans translate by the word *proscenium*, is doubtful. The *proscenium* is the space in front of the wall which encloses the stage opposite to the spectators, and, in so far, is like the orchestra; but λογεῖον is the wooden stage which was constructed over that space, and upon which the performance took place. In the middle of the orchestra, which was more spacious in the Greek than in the Roman theatres, stood the Thymelè for the sacrifice offered to Bacchus: the acting chorus too appeared in the orchestra, above which the logeion was raised ten or twelve feet. The decoration of the logeion was always the representation of some place in the open air; a forest, a road or street,—never of the interior of a building. The side entrances (πρόσοδοι) led into the orchestra, out of which there were steps up to the logeion, but architects are not yet agreed whither these steps led. Meincke understands the parascenia to have been the wardrobe, or dressing-room. There were three doors in the wall at the back, which had a distinct signification. If the actor first came upon the stage through the middle, or royal door, the audience instantly knew that he sustained the principal part; if through either of the sides, or stranger's door, a secondary character. The scenery was visible

through the middle door. Our information on this subject is, however, derived rather from the Roman than the Greek theatre. Originally the scenes were flat paintings pushed on wheels; afterwards they were moved upon rollers or castors (ἐκκύκλημα, ἐξώστρα); the last improvement was the substitution of triangular scenes, the several sides of which represented different objects, so that the scene was changed by simply turning them round on a pivot. These triangles were called περίακτοι. For the appearance of the gods, there was an altar-like elevation above the proscenium, the theologeion. The necessity for rapid changes of scenery was created by the vast extent of matter embraced by the tragedies which the poets vied with other in producing. There is no evidence whatever that the unity of place, which is the creature of French ingenuity, was ever observed in the Greek drama, but the change of place was more frequently left to the fancy, than aided by scenic illusion. The stage remained always open; there was no drop scene.

Tetralogy.

In the time of Æschylus, however, the insatiable love of shows which characterized the Athenians, was, as is well known, not satisfied with one piece. The poet who aspired to a prize was compelled to produce a complete tetralogy,—three tragedies and a satyric drama. Sometimes these stood in an organic relation to each other; sometimes they were perfectly unconnected; sometimes they were designed to produce the most striking contrasts. It is not known what was the immediate cause of a custom which, however early the performance might begin, must, one would think, have

been very fatiguing and inconvenient to the spectators. It was not till later (probably not till the time of the Romans), that an awning (παραπέτασμα) was stretched over the theatre, properly so called, to shelter the audience, who had heretofore sat exposed to the sun and the elements. Sophocles, indeed, ventured to bring forward a single piece, but even after his time tetralogies were performed.

The judges of the merits of dramatic productions were chosen by lot under the direction of the archon; five for comedy, sometimes more for tragedy, and occasionally, in very remarkable cases, as many as ten. Their judgments, however, were sometimes unfairly warped by party spirit, or corrupted by favour, and even by bribery. In Athens they involved legal prosecution. But when the public voice assumed the office of censor, in consequence of any immoral or irreligious sentiments in the piece*, it drew upon the poet the disastrous consequence of a prosecution for impiety, which was tried before the ordinary judges. Dramatic judges.

It appears from Böekh's researches, that new tragedies and comedies were brought out at the great Dionysia, though, whether the latter were all new, is uncertain. Plays which had already been acted were performed at the rural Dionysia: at the Lenæa, also, repetitions, at least in part; at the Anthesteria, besides the mystic representations, parts of the pieces acted at the great Dionysia, were read. Poets and actors were always paid by the state at Athens; and the poet had Dramatic representations.

* As in the celebrated verse of Euripides, Ἡ γλῶσσ' ἐμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ ξυνῆν ἀνώμοτος. Hippolyt. 612.

his mimes assigned to him by lot. They were always men—women never appeared on the stage, and the victorious or successful mime was accepted the next time without examination. They received their instructions immediately and solely from the poet (*fabulam docere*, διδάσκειν). It was otherwise with regard to the chorus; the furnishing of which was entrusted, as a liturgy, to one of the choregi selected from the tribes, who, under the direction of the poet, caused the band of singers and musicians, whom he supplied with all necessaries, to be trained by a proper teacher (χοροδιδάσκαλος)*. A tripod, which was usually placed as an offering in a little chapel built for it, or sometimes on a pillar in the street of tripods, was the prize in these musical games: the inscriptions which accompanied these tripods made honourable mention of the phyle; of the agon in which the victor had conquered; of the choregus, who usually belonged to the same phyle, and who was always an Athenian; of the teacher of the chorus, whose native country was sometimes added, as he was not necessarily an Athenian; in most cases, of the archon; and if it was a cyclic chorus, of the fluteplayer.

The fame of the poet was celebrated in the contemporaneous didascaliæ, which were annually drawn up under the superintendence of the magistrates. They recorded the titles of the plays which had won the prizes, and the names of the unsuccessful competitors, and formed a sort of theatrical register. They also contained an exact statement of the names

* On the liturgy of the choregia, see above, p. 273.

of the festivals, of the best actors, and the value of the prizes, down to the third inclusive, which each piece carried off. The didascaliæ were collected, particularly since the time of Aristotle *, and preserved for reference. Suspicion has often been thrown on these documents, but their value has been fully appreciated and established by Böckh, who estimates their authenticity as on a level with that of the best accredited monuments.

Satyric drama.

The rude germ of tragedy,—the chorus sung and danced by Satyrs,—was first reduced to a special form by Pratinas in Phlius, and continued from that time to preserve its individual character, as a mere afterpiece to the tragedy, the melancholy or terrible impressions of which its object was to obliterate by mimic dance and ludicrous travestie of the tragic fable.

Tragedy seems to have assumed a different form in Sicyon, where Epigenes claimed the honour of its invention. Uniting a dithyrambic with a mimetic character, it approached more nearly, according to Böckh's interpretation of a Bœotian inscription, to the lyrical drama of modern times.

Origin of Comedy.

The same exquisite sensibility to art, the same unerring taste, and the same festal customs, to which tragedy owed its origin, also give birth to comedy, though in another part of Greece. The Doric Megara seems justly to

* Aristotle himself made a collection of didascaliæ, which he appears to have illustrated with accounts of the dramatic poets recorded in them. See Diogenes Laertius, v. 26, and Menage's note.—*Transl.*

lay claim to the merit of having first brought the loud and joyous wine-songs which resounded in the village (κώμη) at the tumultuous festal procession (κῶμος)* into a regular form. Susarion, a native of the Megarian village Tripodiscus, carried comedy to the Attic demus, Icaria.† It had already assumed a rhythmical form, and was adapted to an action sustained by several actors. At first, however, it remained a village festival, in its new home, and its expenses, including those of a chorus, were defrayed by the voluntary contributions of individuals, without any aid from the state.

Connexion of comedy with democracy.

In Sicily, it had already been raised by Epicharmus to a regular artistical form, while Attic comedy was yet rude and unpolished. But, with the victory of Salamis, the Demus rose into power, and with it arose comedy, the daughter of democracy. Cratinus, who lived between the sixty-fifth and eighty-ninth Olympiad, must be regarded as the father of the second period of ancient comedy. For boldness of invention, splendour of diction, and high, austere morality, he deserves to be compared with his contemporary Æschylus. Like him, he fixed the number of actors on the stage at three; he also probably invented the comic masks, and used comic satire as an instrument for chastising the rage for innovation.

* Aristotle, Poet. 5, says that the word κωμῳδία is derived either from κῶμος, or from κώμη; and that the Megarians used the latter derivation as an argument in favour of their claims for the invention of comedy, as they called villages κῶμαι, whereas the Athenians called them δῆμοι.—*Transl.*

† Between Olymp. 49, 3. and 55, 1.

But with the predominant influence of the Demus on all social and civil institutions, and with the corruption of primitive simplicity, ancient comedy reached its third period,* in which it attained to the highest conceivable pitch of shameless licence, raillery at the degeneracy of the times, fantastic creation of a world of absurdity in mockery of the defects of the actual world, and lively apprehension of the ridiculous in conduct and manners. Such is our conception of it, associated with the names of Eupolis, Aristophanes, Plato, Phrynichus, &c.

Intellect and reason are here displayed in voluntary subjection to every animal impulse of man's nature, and yet so contented in their subjection, that it seems to be but their natural position.

Aristophanes.

The works of Aristophanes, still extant, furnish us with a standard for judging of Attic comedy. There is, however, a practical tendency perceptible through his wildest sallies of sarcastic humour; and the arts which lead to worldly success are the butt at which he aims all the shafts of his ridicule.

Hilarotragedies.

At a much later period, when comedy, by the influence of civil institutions and relations, had assumed a much more tame and regular character, the accomplished Greeks were brought to receive with approbation intentional parodies or travesties of old tragedies, under the name of Hilarotragedies, the very metre of which parodied the solemn cadence of the original, and thus added to the ludicrous effect. None but an

* Olymp. 86—93.

audience familiar with the masterpieces of their poets would have been able to catch the point of these rapid and thick-coming allusions; and yet the poet who contended for the prize was compelled to create a continual surprise by what needed no explanation to render it intelligible.

Influence of democracy.

The wreath of the sacred olive, and the delicacies at the festal banquet, which were the portion of the favourite, were awarded by the people; to divert the people was, therefore, his task. Though, perhaps, he was so fortunate as to be able to calculate with certainty on their quickness of apprehension, and on their appreciation of all the labour that he had undergone to please them, yet it must be confessed that it was not an easy task to satisfy them completely; the fastidious taste of such an audience was but too quick to mark the least falling off in the care of the poet. So restless, indeed, was their craving after novelty and dramatic excitement, that, even aided by the magic of scenic representation, and by the arts tributary to the drama, he could rarely secure the favour of the sovereign Demus for any considerable period. Hence, he transported his auditors from the celestial regions to the abode of Pluto; hence he introduced the jargon of barbaric neighbours amidst the polished phrase of Attic society; and hence he gratified the coarser tastes of his audience by exhibitions from which modern decency would turn with disgust.

Technical inventions.

Modern technical skill has hardly been able to invent any thing of which the rudiments do not exist in the Greek drama; and we mention the prompter (ὑποβολεύς), and the mute

persons of the drama (*κωφὰ πρόσωπα*)—for which dressed puppets were occasionally substituted—only as examples among the many that might be quoted, of the expedients devised to increase the illusion.

If, however, the poet was in favour with the people, he was permitted to come forward during the drama in his own person, and to give his advice on any subject of public interest, or to expose the faults and weaknesses of the popular leaders. This address was termed the Parabasis (from *παραβαίνειν, to come forward*). The early comic poets enjoyed the fullest licence of ridiculing public men, not only by censuring their measures or their character, but even by bringing them on the stage as persons of the drama, and by imitating their voice and bodily peculiarities. A legal restriction of this dramatic licence subsequently imposed, seems to have applied only to the practice of introducing living men as characters in the comedies, and not to the most unrestrained ridicule of them by name *. Freedom of the drama.

Even the Gods did not escape the effects of this dramatic licence, and were compelled in their turn to endure the gibes of the Athenian comic poets. Notwithstanding their *deisidæmonia*—a word which scarcely admits of translation, inasmuch as it signifies both a religious and a superstitious awe of the divine power—the Athenians did not consider it blasphemous in Aristophanes to represent Dionysus himself as mimicking Hercules in a manner which

* See Clinton Fast. Heller. vol. ii., preface, p. L, sqq. on the law *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν.—Transl.*

excited irresistible laughter. It is no where told that the poet was prosecuted for impiety on account of this piece; his harmless jests troubled no consciences, which on a more serious occasion* would have been haunted by visions, and would have required the atonement of sacrifices, libations, soothsayers, and orphcotelests.

Superstitious practices.

For Athens, which gave birth to men who raised themselves above so many traditional prejudices, and ventured to speculate on the loftiest problems of philosophy, also numbered among her citizens those who made votive offerings when an eye or a hand pained them; who sent for Telesphorus from Epidaurus, when the native deities did not relieve the disease; attempted to charm back the affections of faithless lovers, or to urge on hesitating suitors by magic songs (*κατάδεσμοι, καταδέσεις*), and imprecated evil on the heads of hated persons by invoking the infernal gods. Vengeance and superstition invaded even the silent abode of death. Men buried in the graves of their enemies prayers for their punishment in Hades inscribed on leaden tablets (*ἐλασμοὶ μολύβδινοι, ἐλάσματα*).

Rites of sepulture.

The Athenian was carried to his grave, as a victor over the calamities of life, crowned with a wreath of flowers and grass interwoven with bands of wool. When the dead had been furnished with the honey-cake for Cerberus, and the

* It is, however, to be observed that the deep and serious imprecations of Prometheus, in the play of Æschylus, savour at least as strongly of impiety as the farcical caricatures of Aristophanes.—*Transl.*

obol for Charon, the corpse was washed, anointed, wrapped in a sumptuous dress, and strewed with flowers: it was then laid out, and the laments of the kinsmen mingled with the plaintive song of the hired mourners, whose loud wail was accompanied by the flute *. This mourning and the fasting connected with it, lasted at one time for three days, which were afterwards reduced to two, and in later times to a still shorter period. Early in the morning after the lament, the kinsmen and friends came to perform the indispensable duty of the costly and honourable burial, the body being either burnt or committed to the earth: this ceremony was concluded with a sacrifice, prayers, and a banquet. Gratitude or affection adorned the grave with a stone bearing an inscription, or with a statue (ἐπίστημα): in the case of unmarried women, with a water pitcher (for the bridal bath), the guardianship of which was probably also entrusted to the infernal deities.

Sacred vases.

All persons who went through any ceremony of initiation or consecration received vases, not only as credentials of their having passed through it, but as pledges of the more blessed futurity which it secured them. The hand of art which decorated the elegant forms of these vases often rendered them eternal records of the triumphs of beauty †. And in these last offerings, which

* See above, p. 55.

† ὁ παῖς καλός, καλὴ δεκτῆς, and other similar inscriptions of perpetual occurrence on the ancient Greek vases found in Italy.

affection consigned to the grave with the beloved remains, we find another proof that the bright and graceful fancy of this people (the offspring of their vigorous and joyous temperament) entwined itself in immortal strength and beauty round all that is serious in life or solemn in death.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page

3 Tymphoean *read* Tymphæan.

12 πυρὸν *read* πυρὸς.

17 ἀλωά *read* ἀλωά.

20 Διϊπάλια *read* Διπόλια.

Prytaness *read* Prytanes.

28 is doubtful *read* was doubted,

29 Arcadian court of beauty and the like, *read* courts of beauty in Arcadia and elsewhere.

31 $\frac{1}{43}$ *read* $4\frac{75}{100}$.

38 Sylli *read* Selli.

42 Epopoea *read* Epics.

47 The author seems to have drawn an unwarrantable inference from the passage in the Iliad to which he refers. Iab. ix. 394. He likewise (p. 51) improperly generalises upon an extreme case mentioned in the same book. v. 454.

48 ὀπάζειν and μείλια; *read* ἐπάζειν; and μείλια.

54 Day-labourers, *read* Hired labourers, if foreigners.

59 Amphoræ *read* Amphora.

60 ἀγὼν *read* ἀγῶνες.

71 ἐνδύειν *read* ἐνδῦναι.

86 nations *read* clans.

88 the list of the ships *read* the enumeration of the Trojan forces.

ὀπάλλξεις *read* ἐπάλξεις.

στήλαι προβλῆται *read* στῆλαι προβλῆτες.

93 Od. 1. 132, *read* Od. 2. 132. The author is not justified in this explanation of the word νέμεσις.

94 *dele* εἶμιστα.

δικὴ *read* δίκη.

104 For a different explanation of νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ, see Buttmann's Lexilogus in voce.

125 The Corœan—Arcadia *read* The Lycæan among the Parrhasians in Arcadia.

129 The respective nations—Hellanodicæ—*read* Special police-officers (ἀλυταρχαί) maintained order among the multitude under the direction of the Hellanodicæ.

143 Delphinium *read* Delphinè.

148 according to *read* on the authority of.

160 *dele* and more splendid.

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I.

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